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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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14 November 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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POLISH CRISIS NOT EVIDENCE OF 'ANTAGONISMS' IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 32 No 8-9, Sep 84  
pp 727-736

[Article by A. Kosing, professor at Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy,  
Academy for Social Sciences under SED CC: "On the Contradictions of Socialist  
Society"]

[Text] 1. The Problem

The theoretical and practical interest in the contradictions of socialism has noticeably increased, as the broad and intensive international debate indicates. The SED Central Committee social science conference in December 1983 has also drawn on that set of problems the conclusion of long practical experiences in dealing with social contradictions, many theoretical discussions and scientific generalizations. Under that aspect, Kurt Hager's speech formulated a certain state of knowledge as the basis for further research, offering an orientation that conforms with the theoretical and practical requirements for the further shaping of the developed socialist society. Proceeding from there, the following intends to take up some of the problems in the debate so as to contribute, in terms of a scientific debate, to the clarification of controversial standpoints.

The fact that Marxist-Leninist philosophy is dealing more intensively with the social contradictions in socialism is, it seems to me, a positive process. It indicates that it is dealing more with the social reality and practice of socialism. There are a number of objective and subjective reasons for that. If Marxist-Leninist philosophy wants to fulfil its comprehensive ideological-theoretical, political-ideological and ethical-educational function and function as an intellectual impulse of socialist society, it must above all "form a concept," to quote Hegel, of this socialist society. The new social reality of socialism must be placed under philosophic analysis and elaboration for us to comprehend its inevitabilities, contradictions and impulses, developmental tendencies and perspectives to elevate individual and social conduct to social awareness, in which it must be solidly anchored, by ideological insights, convictions and orientations, sociopolitical, moral and aesthetic values and value judgments, and rules and standards. It is of decisive importance here to understand socialist society as a contradictory social organism the development of which is propelled by inherent contradictions. This basic law of the dialectics of the unity and contest of contradictions gains the greatest theoretical and practical importance

for consciously shaping the socialist society. It requires for people to adopt definite modes of thinking and conduct which are to be conveyed primarily by Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Socialist society, characteristically, is in constant motion and development, is an extremely dynamic social organism. So it is perfectly normal that it is marked in all stages of its formation and development by the genesis, development and resolution of dialectical contradictions. The faster socialist society advances, the more contradictions are generated, become effective and are being resolved. The theoretical analysis not only of specific contradictions, but of the whole system of interlinking and interacting contradictions, mainly the examination of the interaction of contradictions in the material and mental sphere, and the determination of their character and substance and of the manner in which to deal with them under any given circumstances, are gaining increasing importance for deliberately using the impulses and ensuring the dynamism and stability of the developed socialist society. Therein undoubtedly lies the most important cause for the greater efforts Marxist-Leninist philosophy is making in dealing with the contradictions of socialism.

This interest is being stimulated by the historical experiences of the socialist countries in establishing and perfecting the developed socialist society. We are not alone here in the GDR in making the experience that in the conversion of the economy to comprehensive intensification, in the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, in shaping the unity of economic and social policy, contradictions arise that have to be moved forward properly, be used as impulse, and resolved. The events in Poland, not last, have revived the debate on the contradictions of socialism and brought up many questions calling for thorough analysis. Also the intensification of the antagonistic contradiction between socialism and imperialism due to the confrontation course by the leading imperialist circles and the more apparent reciprocal effects of external and internal contradictions on the developmental processes of socialist society are raising new theoretical questions.

The theoretical and practical purpose of all discussions about the contradictions of socialism can, in view of these connections, only be "to penetrate in a more detailed fashion into the essence, substance, forms of motion and effective modes of the decisive contradictions in socialist society, and what matters most is to determine how to resolve them on behalf of further social progress. That is a necessary prerequisite for us to be able to use them deliberately as impulses for social progress."<sup>1</sup> What matters in terms of this demand is to improve, through advances in cognition, the set of theoretical instruments for the Marxist-Leninist party and the socialist state to be able to gain practical control over the contradictions in the continued shaping of developed socialism.

One thing Marxist-Leninist philosophy has long been sure of is that the development of socialist society also is marked by the genesis, motion and resolution of dialectical contradictions. Against the recent contention that GDR philosophers had long not recognized the existence of the contradictions of socialism,<sup>2</sup> it be recalled that this theme has been debated and given considerable space in the GDR's philosophical literature at least since the 1950's. Indeed, a solid tradition and remarkable continuity have there been in this regard, quite apart from the fact that some views have changed meanwhile about the contradictions of socialism and that there are also differences of opinion about some questions among different authors.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. On the Character of Contradictions in Socialism.

To my knowledge, there has never been any doubt or debate in GDR philosophy about contradictions existing in socialist society. The debate that did break out concerned the question of the character of contradictions in socialism, the question whether its decisive contradictions were antagonistic or nonantagonistic in character. If the debate about this in the 1970's, in DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR PHILOSOPHIE and other publications, was not all that productive in many respects, it still produced far-reaching agreement on the view that the contradictions of developed socialist society no longer are antagonisms, which was substantially backed up by facts and arguments.

Karl Marx has shown--especially also in "Das Kapital"--that social contradictions assume the character of antagonisms when, due to the separation between labor and property, between subjective labor capacity and objective labor tools, i.e. in consequence of the private ownership in the means of production, classes and social groups evolve that are hostile to each other, pursuing interests, aspirations and goals that are irreconcilable.<sup>4</sup> Ultimately antagonisms are due to the social relations of exploitation and class suppression, for which reason they are expressed by class struggles and are finally resolved through the revolutionary transformation of society. In this sense, Marx wrote: "The bourgeois production relations are the last antagonistic form of the social production process, antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism, but of an antagonism growing out of the social living conditions of the individuals, yet the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society at once create the material conditions for resolving this antagonism."<sup>5</sup> In antagonistic societies the class antagonism molds the character of the mode of production and of all other social domains. Therefore not only the decisive contradictions assume the character of antagonisms, but even others that are not by nature any antagonisms. By their being entwined with hostile classes and their irreconcilable interests, many contradictions become antagonistic in character, such as the contradiction between society and nature, between town and countryside, between physical and mental work, between live and embodied labor and so forth. Once the social conditions disappear that had transformed social contradictions into antagonisms, the social contradictions are no longer an expression of the opposition and struggle between hostile classes and their irreconcilable interests, and they lose the character of antagonism.

Logically extending Marx' conception, V. I. Lenin pithily described the relation between contradiction and antagonism from the vantage point of the worldwide transition to socialism as follows: "Antagonism and contradiction are by no means one and the same. The former disappears and the latter remains in socialism."<sup>6</sup> How is one to take that it "disappears"? Does it mean that there still are antagonisms during the entire socialist phase of development in the new society and that they will only have disappeared once the transition has been made to the higher phase of communism, as is sometimes maintained?

The replacement of antagonisms by nonantagonistic contradictions is no one-time act, but a historic process, an aspect of the world historic abolition of the antagonistic class society by communist society. It can be objectively determined how long this process of the replacement of antagonism by nonantagonistic contradictions will take. That principally depends on how fast one succeeds in

transforming and lending stability to the social conditions that determine the character of the contradictions. That mainly takes place in the transition period from capitalism to socialism, when the socioeconomic and sociopolitical relations are radically transformed and the antagonisms are gradually being deprived of their foundation. One must note that this is proceeding unevenly in the various sectors of society and that the various sectors also show specific characteristics of their own. The change in social awareness, social psychology and human mentality does call indeed for longer periods, and relics of the old society can still hold on there for a long time. That explains that even when the socioeconomic and sociopolitical transformations have been concluded and consolidated, so that the ground is pulled from under the antagonism there, in the sphere of social awareness, social psychology and mentality residues of and recidivism into antagonism survive for a long time. They can be activated and given new nourishment from the effect of the external antagonistic contradiction between socialism and imperialism.

In the developed socialist society, however, where the public ownership in the means of production rules without constraint, where the political power of the workers class is solidified, where the sociopolitical and political-moral unity of classes and strata has evolved under working class leadership, common basic interests of all classes and strata have formed and have become historically effective and a social total will has been formulated and brought about according to plan by the socialist state under Marxist-Leninist party leadership, the social contradictions can no longer assume the character of antagonisms. This society no longer has the social conditions for it. This our position of principle was underscored by Kurt Hager as follows: "With the conclusion of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, the complete victory of the socialist production relations, and the shaping of the developed socialist society, the character of social contradictions changes. The capitalist class society, relying on the exploitation of man by man, is abolished, and so is the pitiless struggle, the antagonistic contradiction between hostile classes. Precisely because the contradictions of developed socialism no longer are antagonisms, the party and the state gain the great advantage to be able to affect and direct these contradictions in how they move and develop deliberately, lend them the appropriate forms of motion, and use them consciously as impulses for development."<sup>7</sup>

In contrast to that position, various Marxist authors still are of the opinion that even in developed socialism antagonisms arise and function and that non-antagonistic contradictions can again turn into antagonistic ones or assume antagonistic features. These disputes are by no means matters of terminology only, though a loose use of Marxist-Leninist terminology sometimes also plays a part. In substance, this concerns important problems which in the final analysis have to do with the judgment on the developmental level attained by socialist society, on the fullness of its new socioeconomic quality, and which have considerable practical ramifications political and ideological in nature. That precisely gives rise to the strong interest in theoretical discussions of these matters now going on in many socialist countries and also reflected in GDR publications.<sup>8</sup>

As already discussed, Marx and Lenin used the concept "antagonism" unequivocally and exclusively to define a specific kind of contradictions, such contradictions, i.e., that consist of, or are entwined with, irreconcilable interests by hostile social forces. The more recent concept of nonantagonistic contradictions, formed later, after socialism had evolved, defines however such contradictions (principally those of socialism) that no longer have this social foundation that goes with the private ownership in the means of production and with exploitation, but amount to contradictory interests among social forces that at the same time share basic interests. Generally speaking, the concepts "antagonism" and "non-antagonistic contradiction" express this ongoing world historic and class-bound change in the quality and character of social contradictions in the replacement of capitalism, the last antagonistic society, by socialism. Even in the early 1970's, Wolfgang Eichhorn was perfectly correct in making the point in discussions that it is uncalled for and would only lead to terminological and substantive difficulties to add any more substance to those concepts.<sup>9</sup> If further content nuances are tied to them, such as that the forms of motion and ways of solutions or the place of the relevant contradictions were already defined by being classified as either antagonistic or nonantagonistic, that only leads to schematism and hampers the concrete-historic study of the various contradictions. That has also become apparent in the current discussions.<sup>10</sup>

### 3. For a Concrete Historic Analysis of Social Contradictions

The notion that antagonistic contradictions arise and take effect also in developed socialism is often explained by certain experiences in socialist countries, mainly with reference to the Polish events in the early 1980's.<sup>11</sup> Apart from the already mentioned theoretical and terminological aspects, these problems then also gain an important methodological aspect. For the question then arises by which methodological requirements the existence or nonexistence of antagonisms in the developed socialist society must be substantiated to be reliable and convincing.

Does the socialist society of Poland have antagonisms, class struggle, counter-revolutionary attacks against socialism and a social crisis situation? Undoubtedly there are antagonisms and class struggle, and there also was a crisis situation. The PZPR has taken a position on that in several documents, analyzed what caused those events and worked out the line of struggle for consolidating socialism. But can one infer from that fact that there are not only antagonistic contradictions "in socialism" but class struggle and crises as well? A blanket reference to Poland should logically "confirm" that as much as the existence of antagonisms. This already reveals the elementary methodological mistake committed with this sort of argumentation. For one thing, the principle of a concrete historic approach is being ignored by simply referring to "socialism," and secondly, a particular is given the rank of the general by deriving a general conclusion from a specific, concretely historic case. Either is inadmissible; by this method everything and nothing can be "proven."

Materialist dialectics is incompatible with this sort of misconceived reference to empirical phenomena torn from their context and turned into an absolute. In opposition to such an undialectical approach, it demands a concretely historical and total analysis of the given developmental level in a specific socialist society,

of its production relations, its social structure, its political system, its ideological superstructure, in order to determine from this objective foundation the origin, content, social character and developmental tendencies of the social contradictions. Once we approach the socialist society in Poland that way, the existence of antagonisms no longer is such a big surprise, because the socialist society in Poland is in a developmental stage where it has to resolve or complete, along with more progressive tasks, also still essential tasks relating to the transition period from capitalism to socialism. The socialist transformation of the economic, social, cultural and intellectual life is not yet complete, socialist production relations have not yet triumphed in all sectors, and the general inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction have not yet been realized in every respect.

Wojciech Jaruzelski defined the developmental stage of socialist society in Poland as follows: "In the last 10 years the thesis has been proclaimed that we have entered the period of the construction of developed socialism. Today one may run into the opposite notion that socialism in Poland cannot even yet be spotted on the horizon. The essential areas of public life rest forever on the foundations of socialism. Their design is permanent. The socialist mode of production predominates. State power is of a socialist character. Poland is a solid link in the system of the socialist states. Yet the developmental degree of the various domains is uneven, differentiated in the base as well as in the superstructure. Likewise, there are areas that have come to a standstill or even have taken a step back, which is disquieting."<sup>12</sup>

And so in Poland to some extent there still are capitalist production relations and production relations of simple commodity production and, based on that, classes and social groups with their own interests and, as an inevitable consequence of that economic base, the production and reproduction of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology and mentality, and modes of thinking and conduct. Who would be surprised that in this developmental stage of a socialist society in formation social antagonisms do exist, play a considerable role under certain conditions, and can in various ways become intertwined with the newly developing nonantagonistic contradictions? After all, that was also the case during the transition period from capitalism to socialism in the GDR and in other countries.

What theretical conclusions are to be drawn from the Polish experiences requires a thorough analysis that is mainly up to the PZPR. Without wishing to anticipate it, I would merely want to comment on one point that plays a big role in the discussions about the antagonistic or nonantagonistic character of contradictions in socialism. The fact that social conflicts evolved in Poland and became so intense that they led to a social crisis situation is often adduced as an argument for the existence of antagonistic contradictions. To me it seems, however, a gross oversimplification to attribute the crisis situation that evolved exclusively or chiefly to the effect of antagonistic contradictions. There is of course no doubt that the external antagonistic contradiction between socialism and imperialism has a lot to do with it. As the PZPR has reiterated, imperialism, through its policy of intervention, extortion and threat and its active assistance of the domestic counterrevolution, sought to break Poland out of the socialist community of states. But the question to be raised is which internal contradictions by being exacerbated so heavily affected the public life and functionality of the socialist state that a crisis situation evolved. Undoubtedly,

penetrating social conflicts arising between the workers class and the socialist state and, in consequence of it, the alienation between large sectors of the working people and the Marxist-Leninist party, led to this situation. If the unity between the working people and the socialist state and the Marxist-Leninist party had not been disrupted, the class forces hostile to socialism would not have had a chance.

Yet does aggravation in these relations and conflicts arising truly mean that between the working people on the one side and the socialist state power and the Marxist-Leninist party, on the other, antagonistic contradictions exist, that there has been a collision between irreconcilable interests by hostile forces? Putting the question this way already provides an answer to it. It is not uninteresting in this context that the imperialist ideologues not only keep trying to insinuate all sorts of antagonisms to socialist society but, above all, contend that there is presumably an antagonistic contradiction between the interests of the working people and the socialist state power as well as the Marxist-Leninist party. There is no way for such antagonisms, even if social conflicts are caused by heavy mistakes, because the fundamental common interests remain the objective foundation for resolving those contradictions, which are by nature no antagonisms.

If we look at the socialist society in concrete-historic terms and as comprehensively as possible, it becomes clear that the general reference to the events in recent years provides no convincing argument for there being antagonisms in the developed socialist society.

#### 4. Against a One-Sided Conception of the Movement and Solution of Nonantagonistic Contradictions

The thesis that antagonistic contradictions rise and become effective in the developed socialist society needs implies the contention that there must be social forces in this society with interests forming an irreconcilable, hostile opposition. Those who have that notion get into a tough situation: Where, in the developed socialist society, in which the identical basic interests of all classes and strata play a dominant role, and in which a firm alliance exists between the workers class and the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and other working groups, under Marxist-Leninist party leadership, are there such hostile and irreconcilable contradictions of interests that could not be arbitrated on the basis of socialism? Even if we take into account that the replacing of antagonism by nonantagonistic contradictions comes by way of a long historic process that proceeds unevenly in the various sectors of public life, we are not likely to find such conflicts of interests on the given level achieved by the developed socialist society as we find it in the Soviet Union and in the GDR as well. Naturally, there are relics and residues of and relapses into antagonistic contradictions, and they are being revived and temporarily reinforced under the influence from the external antagonistic contradiction between socialism and imperialism. Antagonistic contradictions of interests, however, have no social basis any more in the classes, strata or social groups of socialist society.

The attempt to substantiate the thesis of antagonisms in developed socialism has led to what, to me, is the untenable contention that those antagonisms find their social proponents in the representatives of the former exploitative classes, the petty bourgeoisie, the former civil service bureaucracy, and in asocial elements. While that may somewhat be the case for the transition period from capitalism to socialism and the time immediately thereafter, that situation changes more and more with the shaping of the developed socialist society. Applied to the developed socialist society, that argument is theoretically unsound yet it can in political-ideological respects disorient public practice. It ignores the fundamental social transformation of the social classes and strata in the course of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction and the qualitative change of the sociopolitical, ideological and moral profile of men in their pervasive process of change. In the Soviet Union, in any event, it has lasted already more than 60 years; there can be no doubt, it seems to me, that there is no objective basis there for looking for representatives of the exploiter classes of the past.

When these problems are discussed, one runs into still other arguments in favor of antagonism in developed socialism. The fact that under certain circumstances contradictions may intensify in the developed socialist society proves right then to some authors that contradictions either are antagonisms or at least have assumed antagonistic features. This argument actually only shows that any social contradiction is tacitly always interpreted by the pattern of antagonism, which is understandable, to be sure, given the long history of antagonistic societies, but is groundless just the same. When one thinks that way, nonantagonistic contradictions actually do not figure as full contradictions. And yet it must be clear that under certain circumstances any given social contradiction nonantagonistic in nature may sharpen in the way it moves because it is always a struggle of opposites. This may happen because the contradiction is not being moved adequately or the management organs of socialist society do not consciously affect the way it moves and work out no proper ways for it to move, that they, in other words, instead of controlling it, leave it up to spontaneity. Such intensification can also occur when wrong decisions pitch a contradiction in the wrong direction and thereby cause further contradictions that would then block developments and cause difficulties. And also this has to be taken into account: From the fact that contradictions must not be identified with difficulties it by no means follows that contradictions as they rise, develop and are resolved are often not due to difficulties. Difficulties are no contradictions but they often are symptoms and indicators of contradictions.

In this context it is to be noted in general that the widespread notion that the intensification of a contradiction can only be regarded as negative is false because it oversimplifies the complicated nature of dialectical developmental processes. In the developmental process of socialist society also the resolving of the nonantagonistic contradictions, through the contest of opposites, often is preceded by a phase in which a contradiction tends to intensify. That is a perfectly normal and inevitable phenomenon of positive importance in the development process because a contradiction, after all, is something that seeks its own resolution. So we find that by resolutely converting to all-inclusive economic intensification and by the fast acceleration of the scientific-technical progress, we necessarily intensify many contradictions in production organization, in the technological regimen, in what managers and working people think and in how they behave, which makes the resolution of those contradictions all the more pressing. That is, however, not due to wrong decisions; quite on the contrary, the development and resolution of certain contradictions are here propelled by correct and properly timed decisions.

Still, be it one way or the other, that has nothing at all to do with the rising of antagonistic contradictions, the transformation of nonantagonistic into antagonistic contradictions, or the nonantagonistic contradictions' assuming antagonistic features because of their being intensified. Behind such notions ultimately stands the idea that only antagonism is a genuine social contradiction, it being tacitly presupposed as the standard kind of contradiction when a mere intensification of a contradiction as such is taken as a criterion for its being transformed into an antagonism.

Can one therefore preclude in the developed socialist society the possibility that antagonisms evolve or that nonantagonistic contradictions are transformed into antagonistic ones? Do we not learn from dialectics that contradictions may turn into one another? Naturally it would be an inadmissible absolutization to preclude that under any circumstances. Yet a concrete-historic approach demands a most precise formulation of the conditions under which such an abstract contingency might turn into reality. There can be no doubt that the basic prerequisites for it would be such social changes in a socialist society in the result of which hostile and irreconcilable class interests would reemerge that collide with each other in class struggle. "We must of course pay attention to the constant attempts by imperialist forces to halt the development of the socialist states and weaken socialism. Those attempts could bring about antagonistic contradictions only if they were to lead to counterrevolutionary activities, seriously jeopardizing socialist society, giving rise to forms of capitalist ownership in the means of production and reestablishing hostile class opposition, so that the working class party could no longer fulfil its leadership role."<sup>13</sup>

That would mean, in other words, that in the outcome of a counterrevolutionary abolition of socialist society antagonisms would reemerge based on hostile classes with irreconcilable interests, aspirations and goals; it would not mean a transformation of nonantagonistic into antagonistic contradictions.

A careful clarification of the questions that have to do with the antagonism, or rather, with the nonantagonistic character of the contradictions of developed socialism is of great theoretical and practical importance for a deeper understanding and better control of the social processes in the shaping of the developed socialist society. It also is of inestimable relevance for aggressively taking issue with the misrepresentations of socialism by imperialist ideology.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Hager, "Gesetzmaessigkeiten unserer Epoche--Triebkraefte und Werte des Sozialismus" [Inevitabilities in Our Era--Driving Forces and Values of Socialism], Berlin, 1983, p 71.
2. Cf. J. Kuczynski, "Dialog mit meinem Urenkel" [Dialogue with my Great-grandson], Berlin, 1983, p 31.
3. Here we may merely refer to the following publications through which this contention may be examined: W. Eichhorn I: "Ueber die Widersprueche beim Aufbau des Sozialismus" [About the Contradictions in Socialist Construction], Berlin, 1959; G. Klaus/A. Kosing/G. Redlow, "Wissenschaftliche Weltanschauung.

Teil I: Dialektischer Materialismus. 4. Heft: Einheit und Kampf der Gegensätze." [Scientific World-Outlook. Part I: Dialectical Materialism. No 4: Unity and Contest of Opposites], Berlin, 1959; H. Klotsch, "Gesetze und Kategorien der materialistischen Dialektik" [Laws and Categories of the Materialistic Dialectic], Berlin, 1966; G. Stiehler, "Der dialektische Widerspruch. Formen und Funktionen" [The Dialectical Contradiction--Forms and Functions], Berlin, 1966; Authors' Collective under A. Kosing, "Marxistische Philosophie," Berlin, 1976; A. Kosing, "Widersprüche in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" [Contradictions in Socialist Society], Berlin, 1975; G. Stiehler, "Widerspruchsdialektik und Gesellschaftsanalyse" [The Dialectics on Contradiction and Social Analysis], Berlin, 1977; Authors' Collective under W. Eichhorn I, "Marxistisch-leninistische Philosophie," Berlin, 1979; I. Schulze/H. Weispflug, "Triebkräfte der Gesellschaft--Triebkräfte des Handelns" [Driving Forces for Society--Driving Forces for Action], Berlin, 1979; Authors' Collective under A. Kosing, "Dialektik des Sozialismus," Berlin, 1980.

4. Cf. J. P. Ludwig/G. Schnauss/H. Zeiske, "On the Continuity in the Conception of Contradiction in Marx," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR PHILOSOPHIE (DZfPh), No 9 1983, pp 1095 ff.
5. K. Marx, "Critique of Political Economy, Preface," K. Marx/F. Engels, "Werke" [Works], Vol 13, Berlin, 1964, p 9.
6. V. I. Lenin, "Remarks on N. I. Bukharin's Book 'The Economy of the Transition Period,'" Lenin Compendium XI, Moscow, 1929, p 357 (in Russian).
8. Cf. V. S. Semyonov, "The Problem of Contradiction under Socialist Conditions," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 7, and 9, 1982; A. P. Butenko, "Contradictions in the Development of Societal Structures under Socialism," Ibid., No 10, 1982; A. P. Butenko, "Once Again on the Contradictions of Socialism," Ibid., No 2, 1984; V. S. Semyonov, "On the Theoretical Deepening and Concretization of the Analysis of the Contradiction Problem under the Conditions of Developed Socialism," Ibid., No 2, 1984; V. S. Semyonov, "For a Deeper Understanding of the Essence and Dialectic in the Phenomenality of the Contradictions in Socialism," DZfPh, No 9, 1983; I. Tudosescu, "The Effect of the Law of Contradiction and the Nature of Contradictions in Socialism," Ibid., No 9, 1983.
9. Vg. W. Eichhorn I: "Reservations and Ideas about the Debate on Contradictions," DZfPh, No 11, 1973, pp 1367 f.
10. V. M. Volodin remarks, in the identical sense, that the concept of antagonism loses its specific meaning when it is used to grasp the reality of developed socialism. It would be useless practically and, theoretically, lead to obscurities. (Cf. V. I. Kerimov et al, "Debate in Current Problems," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 2, 1984, pp 121 f.)
11. Juergen Kuczynski, op. cit., p 209, e.g., writes: "And events in recent years, such as those in Poland these days, have indeed confirmed our standpoint as of that time."

12. "W. Jaruzelski's Speech at the PZPR Central Committee National Conference," TRYBUNA LUDU, 17/18 March 1984; cf. also W. Jaruzelski, "About the Polish Experiences," PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, No 11, 1983; J. Czyrek, "The PZPR in the Struggle for the Victory of the Socialist Ideas," Ibid., No 5, 1984.

13. K. Hager, op. cit., p 70.

5885

CSO: 2300/38

ARMY DAILY ATTACKS ERRORS IN MILITARY IDEOLOGY

AU191843 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 10 Oct 84 p 2

[Article by Colonel Professor Gancho Bonin: "Innovation or Pseudo Innovation?"]

[Text] Numerous facts make me think that behind claims of innovations a mere effort of trying to be original is concealed, and at the same time the inability to distinguish between our poetic [as published] literature and that of our ideological enemies. I will try to prove this fact.

It is hardly necessary to recall in detail that the classic authors have always considered our theory as an open, dynamic, and developing system, reflecting the eternal development of real life, as a creative theory, which is alien to any dogmas, stagnation, and fetishism, at the same time, however, as a theory which is stable based on principle, and consistent in its most profound dialectic-materialist essence. Life raises questions and poses tasks which demand an increasing number of new answers. Being new and innovative, however, these answers must always and everywhere remain Marxist-Leninist answers.

In this connection certain phenomena have induced the following question which I asked myself: Is everything that is new, really new without any reservations? Is everything new (meaning a conclusion, a concept, an evaluation, or a synthesis) really always the reflection of real and objective phenomena? Is it not the case that people sometimes present abstract intellectual exercises and far-fetched abstractions, which have nothing in common with reality, as innovations?

These questions have emerged from numerous conversations, discussions, and publications on the problems of military ideology. Let us, however, refer to facts.

There is one fundamental pseudoinnovation, in our opinion, which has, so to say, become a fashion, and this is the statement that under present-day circumstances war, and nuclear missile war in particular, no longer is an extension of policy. The new reality, these people say, cannot be inserted in an old formula. These people even say that the aforementioned formula allegedly belonged to "classical" (?) Marxism must be understood as a "neo-Marxism" and that it should have another approach to war.

I had the opportunity of asking many questions on the subject of the newly launched "innovation" and I must confess that as a rule I have not received any answer. Without exaggerating, I will add that the "innovators" have always remained speechless when confronted with my questions. These questions read as follows: All right, if nuclear missile warfare is not an extension of policy, then what does it represent in reality--does it fall from the skies, does it spring from the ground? Or is it, perhaps, a product of the famous "human nature," of the deficient and genetically imperfect human nature? Is this war perhaps an offspring of the demon of science and technology, or is it perhaps a product of the "civilization of coercion?" How should we evaluate the votes in favor of tremendous military budgets, the presidential decrees and directives, the deployment of missiles in Europe, and so forth? Is this policy or not, and does it pertain to war or not?

Since I have thoroughly dwelt on these questions on different occasions, I will only note that the "innovation" in question removes and liquidates a tested Leninist methodological principle for approaching war--namely, the political and class-party approach--opening the path to other, non-Marxist and non-Leninist approaches. Such an approach makes orientation on important topical problems difficult and frequently even contributes to confusion. Such an approach actually absolves those who are truly responsible for war and makes them and their policy appear innocent.

Let us take another "innovation." In reference to the well-known formula that war is an extension of policy by other means, namely the means of coercion, one author states that the term "extension" is an "unscientific concept and does not mean anything," while war considered as a dual concept (policy plus armed struggle and military violence) is a "confused concept" according to the author. He further states that "war as an extension of policy is nothing but policy, while war as an armed struggle is not policy, is not an extension of policy, but a simple means, and nothing else." On this basis the author pleads for two concepts of war--one philosophical and the other belonging to military science--which are opposed to each other and exclude each other, according to the same author. All this is done with the self-confidence of innovation and creativeness and is being launched as the latest term in Marxism-Leninism.

Without engaging in broad discussions, I cannot help saying that these claims contain a whole series of gross distortions, unceremonious denials, and derogatory statements (such as "unscientific", "meaningless", "confusion of concepts," and so forth), which border on arrogance. I will limit myself to a few remarks and questions only.

Since when has a mere denial acquired the value of a scientific proof? How is it possible that war should be one thing at one time and then something else and "nothing more?" Don't even schoolchildren know that war is war because it is policy and armed struggle at the same time. What can this mean, "once one thing" and "another time another thing?" This is nothing but pure metaphysics. It is not obvious that when we eliminate the term "extension," Lenin's formula disintegrates and we can assert one time one thing (namely

that two countries allegedly can be in a state of war without military action), and another time--something else (namely, that two countries can wage an armed struggle against each other without being in a state of war--such as in the case of the UK and Argentina)? Is it not obvious, however, that after eliminating the word "extension," there is nothing more left, and this opens the path to arbitrary interpretations of war?

Let us take another statement: "Nuclear war is immoral. It does not meet former criteria of a just war...." Does this mean that if socialism is forced, despite all its efforts, to have resource to legitimate self-defense with the same means, this will be an unjust war? And what will the criteria of evaluation be--perhaps the "former" ones?

People in the West assert that Clausewitz invented the concept and doctrine of war, while Lenin just took it over, repeated it, and in the best case, applied this theory. If we look at things from a formal point of view, then the definition of war is the same in both cases. However, are we really talking about the same thing? Instead of asking themselves this question and trying to answer it, certain authors prefer to cite Clausewitz instead of Lenin, without being aware that things are quite different in these two cases. This, however, creates great confusion, because Lenin is a materialist and a proletarian revolutionary, while Clausewitz is an idealist, a bourgeois ideologist, and a military expert. While for Lenin policy is objectively determined, Clausewitz understands it in an idealistic manner (as a subjective, creative deed); while Lenin understands policy as a class concept, and hence applies the same criteria to war, for Clausewitz this concept reflects the interests of the nation "as a whole," and so forth. Hence, many other things follow from this. For example, if Clausewitz in some respects appears outdated, we cannot make the same straightforward statement about Lenin, and if some authors do so openly, or in a veiled manner, they still become voluntary or involuntary participants in a slanted position and in the struggle against Lenin and Leninism.

Let us take another example. We can hear the statement that the balance of power is a factor for peace and that we owe the prolonged worldwide peace following World War II to this balance of power. Is this statement sufficient, however? Does it not need a differentiation of positions? This is what is omitted in many cases, and is not being felt either.

When we say that the balance of forces is a factor for and a guarantor of peace, we actually place the two sides of the balance, (both imperialism and socialism), on the same level as regards the problem. It follows, hence, that the military power of imperialism is exerting peaceful functions as well. This, however, means that no differentiation based on principle is made regarding the functions of the two systems.

We will recall, however, that a balance of forces (including military power) also existed in the past but has never produced such a prolonged period of worldwide peace. Under these circumstances things assume a different meaning, because in the past both sides belonged to the same type of system (the

two opposed sides both belonged to the imperialist and capitalist system). The new element in the present-day balance of forces is that one side is represented by a basically new system and military power--namely, the socialist system. Precisely this results in a basically new natural phenomenon and reveals the fundamentally new function of the military power of socialism, not only of the military power, but also of the peaceful power of socialism. This clearly reveals the fact that if we present war and peace as two poles of the same balance, they are backed by two totally opposed forces, namely imperialism and socialism. This also clearly reveals that peace does not fall from the skies, but has its own military equivalent.

Is it really necessary to prove the importance of all this? Some people, however, prefer to express themselves in generalized and nebulous forms under which it is almost impossible to distinguish between positions and responsibilities. Take for example, the thesis about "equal responsibility" and "equal distance" (namely equal distance from both "superpowers") which does not distinguish between the USSR and the United States, between socialism and imperialism, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO.

Naturally, I am aware of the fact that differentiation in such cases should not be understood as confrontation, hostility, and rejection of any contact, joint action, alliance, as blindness toward newly existing realities. However, does this eliminate the necessity of all differentiation? We know that even within the antiwar movement there are trends adopting anticommunist stands, blaming socialism and the USSR for the existing tension and danger. We are perfectly aware of the fact that through such disinformation and confusion the imperialists are trying to control the antiwar movement. Reagan, for example, claims that NATO allegedly represents the greatest peace movement of our epoch.

Last but not least: One of our authors writes the following: "Peaceful co-existence as an unprecedented phenomenon...is a specific, simplified (oposredstvuvano) identity (!) between the states of peace and war, which intertwine so closely and organically that it is sometimes truly difficult to say where peace ends and war begins."

In other words, it is impossible to distinguish between war and peace! How should it be possible, indeed, when one has said in advance that there can be war without armed struggle and that, vice versa, even an armed struggle can exist without implying a state of war? This amounts to erasing any difference between peace and war and creating a confusion of all concepts!

There is something even more important in this context: It is the erasing of the difference between our ideology and a bourgeois idea. For in stating that there is practically no dividing line between peace and war, you create not only conditions for their utter confusion, but also for an inadmissible transition from one to the other--from peaceful to military means, from permitted to forbidden means--by legalizing military vandalism in peacetime and at all times. It is wellknown who is interested in all this.

INDRA DEFINES SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Sep 84 p 3

[Speech by Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Czechoslovak Federal Assembly chairman: "On the Further Development of Socialist Democracy"]

[Excerpts] At a state-wide seminar held this week in Prague marking the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Comrade Alois Indra presented a report on "Consolidating the Czechoslovak Political System and Developing Socialist Democracy--Fulfilling the Revolutionary Legacy of the National Liberation Struggle of Our People." We are publishing excerpts of his presentation.

In the introduction to his presentation, Comrade Alois Indra stressed that socialist democracy--that is, the concept, institutional organization, and function of the whole political system--is given constant attention by communist parties in socialist countries. This is true in full measure of the Czechoslovak Communist party, as is demonstrated during its congresses, all the plenums of its Central Committee, and by the documents adopted there. Most of all, however, it is attested to by the day-to-day practices of our party, its political-organizational activity, and in the final analysis by the experience of the Czechoslovak citizens, by the whole life of our society.

Systematic strengthening of socialist democracy, improving the whole political system--he said--constitutes, even in the present stage of development, the basic conditions for mastering the tasks of the socialist revolution. As has often been said, we are concerned here with the participation of the working people in directing the life of the society in the broadest sense of the word, participation both direct and indirect (that is, representative). In this respect we have to strive ever harder to broaden the direct participation in particular, or, in other words, to increase the political activity of broad strata of the people. Our guide in this effort always has been, and always will be, Lenin's well-known

thesis that without democracy there can be no socialism, just as there can be no real democracy without socialism.

It is the logical outcome of the nature of socialist democracy that it is at all times the target of an intense class struggle between capitalism and socialism. It is not by chance that this theme is constantly in the forefront of ideologically subversive attacks by bourgeois propaganda, particularly under the guise of upholding so-called human rights.

The primary reason for the escalation of attacks on the political systems of countries with real socialism are problems which stem from the multiple crises of the capitalist world. Mass unemployment, inflation and the accompanying increases in the cost of living, escalating social exploitation through new technology, worsening of international relations, a mad pace of arms production, loss of prospects in life--all of this stimulates the revolutionary mood of the masses. (This is demonstrated by extensive strikes, which are beginning to show political overtones, and by an unprecedented growth of the peace movement. Among the consequences of the moral political disintegration of the capitalistic society also have to be counted, of course, growing alcoholism and drug addiction, increasing number of suicides, increase in crime generally and in terrorism particularly.) In an effort to blunt the anticapitalistic mood and prevent the revolutionization of the masses, all the means of influencing peoples' minds (schools, churches, arts of all kinds, mass communication media) are concentrated on idealizing the bourgeois system and painting as black a picture as possible of life in socialist countries. Simply put, their basic "recipe" can be expressed something like this: In a capitalist society you may have certain difficulties, but you are living in freedom; socialism would deprive you of that freedom. The sad role of saviors of capitalism is played in this "concert" by reformist "workers' parties," and many times even adherents of Eurocommunism, by playing harmony, provide grist for their mill. Revolutionary responsibility does not allow us to overlook this often very crafty drumbeat of enemy propaganda and underrate its possible influence and consequences arising therefrom.

The success of our activity in political education, our propaganda and agitation, and our counterpropaganda, is based on their aggressiveness, on exposing the weaknesses of the bourgeois political system, and on using truthful arguments about life in Czechoslovakia. Good propaganda can accomplish much, but it is not all-powerful--he further stated. Along with it we must increase our efforts to improve all the functions of our whole political system, to keep making socialist democracy ever more perfect. We bear in mind that socialist democracy is evolving; we should not pretend to ourselves or others that we are dealing here with an already finished process, that we have reached a "model" valid for all times. We are concerned, therefore, with the day-to-day practical activities of the whole party, of all its agencies and organizations, of every communist. We are concerned here with the work of all the state as well as economic institutions, of the National Front and all the organizations incorporated in it. In this respect we have no choice but to suppress all tendencies

toward simplifications, which manifest themselves most often by many different forms of bureaucratism and highhanded commands. The development of socialist democracy is not possible without overcoming rigidity and routine in the activities of individual links of the political system, without eradicating blind faith in the automatic performance of correct resolutions and directives. The goal of the party's efforts is to create an activist atmosphere in the life of our society, to encourage the interest of the greatest possible number of citizens in public affairs, to employ all means to suppress egocentric aspirations of individuals or groups, to defend and consistently uphold the interests of the whole society. Let us always keep in mind that even in the present evolutionary phase--in the period of budding mature socialism--there exists no revolutionary task the mastery of which would not be linked to the functioning of our political system.

Comrade Indra next analyzed in detail the political system of the pre-Munich bourgeois republic.

In the next part of his presentation, Comrade Indra dealt with the development of our political system during the period of transforming the national democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, and analyzed in detail the encounter of progressive and reactionary forces in February 1948. In all modesty--he said--and without wishing to force our experience on anybody, we can state: the transformation of the national democratic revolution in Czechoslovakia into a socialist revolution is a truly textbook example of using both objective and subjective circumstances toward the peaceful establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. Therein lies the substance of, if you will, the specifically Czechoslovak way to socialism. Our party was sensitively respectful of all national singularities and thoughtfully applied with them in mind the universally valid Leninist principles of socialist revolution. The peaceful establishment of the political power of the working class and its allies cannot, of course, be understood other than as an outcome of fierce struggle, but also of a resolve to use even force, should it have become necessary, to defend the revolution. We can thank the wise policies of the party, the mobilization of the working class, the highly conscious activities of the people, and a favorable international situation--particularly the alliance with the Soviet Union--for the fact that the reactionary forces did not attempt, possibly even with foreign help, a bloody suppression of the revolution. Nobody can change the fact that our socialist revolution was an affair of the Czechoslovak people, our exclusively internal affair. By establishing the political power of the working class, a new stage began in the history of the Czechoslovak people--our country started on the road to socialism.

The conclusions of the 16th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party place before us the task--emphasized Comrade Indra--to take care of constantly strengthening socialist democracy, to strive for an ever more perfect functioning of our whole political system. That is exactly what the talk is all about in all the sessions of the Central Committee, no matter what the theme at hand may be, since the fulfillment of our current tasks is contingent on the ability of the party to take action, on the activism of

general public, the highest participation of workers in management, on solving local as well as society-wide matters.

The instrument of political power of the working class and the people is the socialist state--at all levels it is the duty of all agencies to serve, by the content as well as methods of their actions, the interests of the people; that means to realize the policies of the Czechoslovak Communist Party within the sphere of their activity, to organize in a concrete way the building of a mature socialist society, as well as defend the achievements of the socialist revolution.

Comrade Indra further discussed the status and activities of our legislative bodies, the work of the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council and their deputies, concentrating on the strengthening of the legislative and controlling activities. Our deputies vote unanimously and support the government, he said, because we are all guided by the policies of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the National Front, not to mention the fact that unanimous voting is always the result of open and often very critical consideration of all the problems in the assembly committees. The committees are precisely the "kitchen" in which everything that is necessary is "boiled up"; they are the proper place for the freedom to criticize any shortcomings in the working of the government as a whole or of its various departments--and deputies do make the fullest use of these opportunities. Furthermore, it is evident from the discussions in the assembly meetings that unanimous voting is not in conflict with free and substantive expressions of opinion by individual deputies. Of course, the crux of the matter lies in the fact that--unlike our opponents--we do not hide the class character of our state, we do not hide the fact that the whole political system supports the building of a mature socialist society and thus serves to uphold the historic interests of the working class and the people. This also determines our view of a legally organized opposition. Logically, any opposition would be the bearer of antipeople, antisocialist opinions--such an opposition simply does not have a social base in our country. As for the ideological orphans of capitalism (no matter in what guise), there is no place for them on our deputies' benches. The moral political unity of the Czechoslovak people, guided by the Czechoslovak Communist Party--as is so markedly evident in the composition of our representative bodies--is not a weakness but is, on the contrary, a great virtue of socialist democracy. The degree of socialist democracy reached--he said--is evident in the constitutional arrangement, in the voluntary union of the two sovereign national republics in a common federal state. During the time of its existence--and soon it will be 16 years--the federation has proved its viability and benefit to socialism and to the coexistence of our nations and nationalities. Understandably, this is a thorn in the side of our opponents, who from time to time trot out the "argument" that this is actually the result of the "Prague Spring," while insisting in the same breath that the federation in its present "model" and under the guiding role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party makes no sense. We, the contemporaries of those days, clearly remember, however, the motto of those Slovak rightists of the time: "first democratization, then federalization"--

or, to put it plainly: first bury socialism, then we shall see. It is well known that the federation is the embodiment of a long-range program of the party and all progressive forces. Disagreement with Benes' concept of a "Czechoslovak nation," and a desire to align the relationship between Czechs and Slovaks along the principle "equal with equal," were one of the basic goals of the Slovak National Uprising. They found their expression in the Kosice Government Program and in the policies of the Czechoslovak Communist Party regarding the economic, educational, and cultural development of Slovakia and her equalization with the Czech part of the state. It is to subjectivist errors and the abandonment of Marxist-Leninist principles that one must attribute the fact that this problem was not solved earlier by appropriate constitutional arrangement. The federation is proof that our party adheres consistently to Leninist revolutionary teachings, in this case to its instructions for solving nationalistic questions, that even in its internal policies it respects the principles of socialist internationalism. It is precisely under the conditions of a federation that it is possible to have a distinctive development of both sister nations--Czechs and Slovaks--and ensure full rights of all nationalities living in our country.

For continual improvement of socialist democracy--Comrade Indra further stated--the political unity of the National Front and the development of the activities of all its agencies and organizations in desirable directions is of the utmost importance. We have never understood the unity of the National Front in the socialist spirit, under the guidance of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, to be some unmovable "monolith," and we always refuted the notion that there is an attempt to "fit all organizations into a mass-produced mold." The organizations which are incorporated in the National Front are guided by a common political strategy for building socialism, aiming for the same goal; they increase their efforts to support as effectively as possible the policies of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, because it is the party that expresses most accurately society-wide interests. The multitude and diversity of the social and interest organizations represent, however, a very multicolored spectrum. Within them, millions of citizens of various occupations and ages, those politically organized or without party affiliations, atheists and believers, find opportunities to apply and develop their interests. It is important, however, that each organization fulfill its specific mission through specific means, that it emphasize those things that express the interests of its members, at the same time enhancing their civic consciousness and leading them to an active participation in fulfilling socially most important tasks. The mission of every organization is to create conditions whereby its members can participate in the formulation and realization of the policies of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the National Front, both in local circumstances and on a nationwide scale. It is a matter for individual organizations to prove by their activities that each of our citizens has not only the proclaimed right, but also the realistic possibility "to put his 2 cents' worth in," that socialist democracy offers broad opportunities to literally millions.

It is obvious that individual organizations cannot be of equal importance within society, that their importance cannot be automatically derived from their participation in the National Front or the size of their membership. The foremost place in the National Front always has belonged, and always will belong, to individual revolutionary trade union organizations. The Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement unites in its ranks practically all those working in an employee relationship; in the content and methods of its activities it is one of the most persuasive proofs of the unity of party and people. It defends the interests of the workers not against the leading political power, but in harmony with its policies, not against socialist society, but toward its successful development.

There is a place in the National Front, and therefore in our political system, for other political parties as well. It is true that in some socialist countries such non-communist parties do not exist, but that does not change anything in the nature of socialist democracy. In our country the situation historically evolved in such a way that after February 1948 these parties found their place in the reborn National Front. Each one of them unites, according to its program, certain strata of the population, who acknowledge socialism and share in its development. They have appropriate representation in the national committees as well as in the legislative bodies, and their functionaries and members give good account of themselves as socialist patriots. These political parties recognize the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in society and are our allies within the framework of the National Front--at the 16th Congress their activity received a positive evaluation. This must be demonstrated in the day-to-day practices of all party agencies and organizations, in the conduct of every communist, in their relationship with non-communist parties and their members.

In conclusion, Comrade Indra stressed that the communist party can fulfill its historic role of the leading political power of socialist society successfully only if it is guided by Leninist norms in its own life. This means to guard and constantly strengthen the ideological unity of the party by respecting the principle of democratic centralism, and, by developing intraparty democracy, increase its ability to function; it means not to relax the requirements for regulating the membership base, to realize goaloriented cadre policies, and systematically root out all manifestations of opportunism in its practices.

12605

CSO: 2400/14

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

HAGER SPEECH ON OCCASION OF CULTURE DAYS IN USSR

Two States, Two Cultures

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Oct 84 p 3

[Speech by K. Hager: "The Arts Enrich and Strengthen the Fraternal Alliance"]

[Text] Comrade Piotr Nilovich Demichev, all those present, comrades and friends!

Allow me to convey to you the fraternal greetings of the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, comrade Erich Honecker as well as of the Government and people of the German Democratic Republic at this, the opening of the Days of GDR Culture in the USSR, taking place on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the establishment of the first socialist state on German soil.

We are deeply impressed to see that the anniversary of our state is being feted here in Moscow and all parts of the Soviet Union as a common festival of our states and peoples. We consider the presence of a high-ranking Soviet delegation at the festivities in Berlin and the significant speech at our celebrations by Comrade Andrei Gromyko, member of the CPSU CC Politburo, first deputy of the chairman of the Council of Ministers and USSR Minister for Foreign Affairs, a symbol for the indestructible ties of friendship between the CPSU and SED, the USSR and the GDR. We express our heartfelt thanks to the Central Committee of the CPSU and its general secretary, comrade Constantin Chernenko, the Soviet Government and all citizens of the great Soviet country.

The Soviet Union's Act of Liberation Is Not Forgotten

Led by the SED, the party of the working class, and thanks to the common efforts of all democratic and progressive forces united in the National Front, the German Democratic Republic has, since its establishment, developed into a politically stable, economically efficient and culturally prominent socialist state. Still, we never forget that none of this would have been possible without the immortal sacrifices of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, without the victory over Hitler fascism of the glorious Soviet Army and its allies, which liberated the German people, too, from fascism. Our people will always appreciate the Soviet Union's immortal act of liberation. We are therefore celebrating the 35th anniversary of the GDR's existence in the sign of the preparations for the impending 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism.

Liberation from fascism and the establishment of the GDR laid the foundation stone for the firm and indestructible friendship between our parties, peoples and states. This friendship grew and strengthened year by year. It is now reflected in fruitful economic, scientific-technological and cultural relations and many personal encounters. Literature and art have contributed a great deal to the steadily firmer rooting of this friendship in the hearts and minds of ever new generations.

The Communist Party of Germany and many progressive and antifascist artists, such as Johannes R. Becher, Anna Seghers, Heinrich Mann, Lion Feuchtwanger, Bertolt Brecht and Friedrich Wolf, were the precursors and pioneers of the spread of Soviet culture. Even before our republic was founded, we were privileged to receive the first ambassadors of culture from the Soviet country--the Aleksandrov Ensemble, whose legendary appearance in Berlin almost 40 years ago amidst the ruins we still vividly recall. Also unforgettable is the rescue of famous paintings of the Dresden Art Gallery by Soviet soldiers and officers. Thanks to restoration by Soviet restorers and their return to the GDR, these treasures of world civilization may once again be admired by millions of visitors.

#### USSR Art Has a Firm Place in Our Lives

The development of culture and art in our republic has been most intimately linked with the multinational culture and art of the Soviet Union right from the start. Works of classical Russian and Soviet literature and art have a firm place in the intellectual-cultural life of our country. They contribute profound experiences and inspire many discussions about the struggles of our age, about vital problems.

We are glad and proud that many works of our artists are effective in the Soviet Union, too, and that many of our orchestras, operas, theaters and interpreters of the lighter hearted muse are known to you. We are therefore entitled to talk of mutual enrichment, the steady adjustment of the multinational culture of the Soviet Union and the culture of the GDR.

Painstakingly prepared days of culture, days of theater art, music, entertainment arts, books and films have turned into effective peaks of intellectual life and hold a firm place in the daily cultural lives of our peoples. On the basis of the results achieved, we endeavor to guarantee the steadily improving quality and efficacy of our cultural cooperation.

My friends!

The working people in the GDR prepared for the 35th anniversary of the establishment of the first socialist state on German soil by outstanding work in the socialist competition. A 5.2 percent rise in the produced national income compared with the same period of the preceding year as well as a 2.3 day plan advantage of output in the sphere of the industrial ministries bear just as eloquent witness to this claim as the unprecedented grain harvest and the tremendous progress made in the fulfillment of our housing construction program.

## Championing Peace--the Prime Duty of the Creators of Culture

The writers, artists and all other creators of culture in the GDR have not fallen behind. Many new works were created--stories, novels, songs and compositions, paintings and sculptures--all of them reflecting the new life and the problems involved in the creation of the developed socialist society in the GDR. Lately splendid new cultural facilities have opened their doors in Berlin, capital of the GDR, and other cities; they have give rise to a new upsurge in cultural life.

The workers' and farmers' state made accessible the treasures of culture to everyone. Our socialist national culture is defined by the goals and ideals of the revolutionary workers' movement and its scientific ideology. On this basis, the artists of several generations created works of art rooted in socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. A firm place in the lives of our citizens is thus occupied by the socialist national culture of the GDR. Lately--upon the occasion of a conference with the creators of culture--Erich Honecker described it as a culture of peace, international understanding and humanism, a profoundly democratic culture.

Personally and in their works, GDR writers and artists, indeed all those creating culture, take their place in the worldwide struggle for peace. They raise their voices against the preparation of a nuclear disaster, against the lethal policy of U.S. imperialism and NATO, for disarmament and detente, for the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community of nations.

Advocacy of peace is the first duty of all creators of culture. As Comrade Constantin Chernenko stressed in his address to the anniversary conference of the Soviet Writers' Union, Maksim Gorki's question, "where do you stand, masters of culture?", is more topical than ever in view of the threat of an international nuclear holocaust.

We attribute particular significance to the struggle against the revanchist efforts of politicians and organizations in the FRG, who question the results of World War II and the postwar system in Europe, and who stridently fantasize about the allegedly "open German issue," about the desirable reunion of the two German states. Regardless of their ravings--and nobody may gainsay that--there are now two German states, the capitalist Federal Republic and the socialist German Democratic Republic. No reunification of these states can or will happen.

Because there are two German states, there cannot be a uniform German culture. The socialist national culture of the GDR is rooted in the humanist heritage of our people and world civilization, the cultural achievements of the revolutionary workers' movement and the antifascist struggle, and not least in the rich values of Soviet culture and the cultures of the other socialist states.

## Days of Culture--Reflection of Intimate Affection

The 1984 GDR Days of Culture in the USSR on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the GDR's establishment and the USSR Days of Culture in the GDR on the

occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism are intended to celebrate the active peace policy of the Soviet Union and assert the indestructibility of the fraternal alliance between SED and CPSU, between the GDR and the USSR.

We have brought with us a bright bouquet of artistic achievements, designed to demonstrate GDR accomplishments in the field of culture and the arts. We offer this bouquet to all present here and hope that it will give all of you pleasure and express our sentiments of fraternal friendship and affection for the entire Soviet people and its communist party.

Druzhba!--Friendship!

#### Ideological Battle Increasing

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Oct 84 pp 1-2

[Article signed WS.: "East Berlin Again Speaking of 'Socialist National Culture'"]

[Text] After a lengthy interlude, the GDR is once again playing the card of demarcation from the FRG. Old propaganda doctrines are being dusted off, although we had assumed that the SED had abandoned them due to their inefficacy. One of these is the doctrine of the evolution of an independent socialist German nation in the GDR, resurrected in the guise of the GDR's "socialist national culture." On Monday last, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the SED central organ, commented the "Days of GDR Culture in the USSR." It used the term "our socialist national culture" or "socialist German national culture" on three separate occasions. To quote: "Our socialist national culture, drawing from everything progressive in past and present, develops in fruitful reciprocal exchange with the art and culture of the Soviet Union. It employs its specific tools to actively back the revolutionary process of the socialist transformation of our country, a process led by our party. It contributes to the reinforcement of collaboration with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. The greater strength of socialism, the preservation of peace--these represent its indispensable and essential nature."

However, more realistic phrases also were heard of late. On 3 October last, when, in his capacity of deputy chairman of the Council of State, awarding high state honors to deserving citizens, SED Politburo member Sinderman, president of the People's Chamber, said: "By way of revolutionary changes in the entire social life, history led to the socialist state of the German nation." He thus returned to a concept included in the GDR Constitution of 6 April 1963, which defined the GDR as "a socialist state of the German nation." This was designed also to convey that there is only one German nation. The GDR constitution was amended 6 years later. Since 7 October 1974 it reads: "The German Democratic Republic is a socialist state of workers and farmers."

Admittedly, Sindermann seems to be something of an outsider with regard to his recourse to the one German nation, capable of being described as a community of language, history and culture of all Germans. Nobody else among the SED leaders came forward to publicly profess the same opinion. Addressing "GDR creators of art and culture" on 20 September, Honecker himself revived the two-nation theory and spoke of the "different nature of culture in the two German states": "At all times in the 35-year history of our socialist state, artists and creators of culture have proven to be loyal and reliable allies of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. As the result of common efforts, a socialist German national culture is emerging. It is among the internationally respected achievements of the German Democratic Republic." More than ever before, at this time of peril for world peace, it was evident, he said, that the "national culture of the German Democratic Republic" was in the profoundest meaning the culture of peace, humanism and international understanding.

"The evolution of our socialist national culture proceeded and continues to proceed in a constant dispute with the ideology and policy of the ruling circles of imperialism, in particular in the FRG," Honecker continued. This ideological conflict had become exacerbated. Ideologues and politicians of the ruling circles in the FRG "fantasize of the alleged 'unity of German history and culture,' which they would like to exploit to keep open the 'German issue.' And yet history has long settled the so-called German issue." In a speech delivered at the opening of GDR Days of Culture in Moscow (10 October last), Politburo member Kurt Hager, since 1955 the SED CC secretary responsible for culture and science and, so far, always adroit enough to skillfully interpret the respective current party line, said on this same topic: "Because there are two German states, there cannot be a uniform German culture. The socialist national culture of the GDR is rooted in the humanist heritage of our people and world civilization, the cultural achievements of the revolutionary workers' movement and the antifascist struggle, and not least in the rich values of Soviet culture and the cultures of the other socialist states."

The revival of GDR demarcation policy may be a response to some discussions in the FRG, concerning the question whether or not the German issue is still alive, and whether there are any prospects for reunification. Hager evidently felt obligated to reassure his listeners in Moscow that there were two German states, the capitalist FRG and the socialist GDR, and that this was an immutable fact. Almost as if it were an incantation, the SED's chief ideologue (72 and a native of Bietigheim/Enz) said: "No reunification of these states can or will happen."

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EAST BERLIN QUESTIONS FAIRNESS OF FRG COMPARATIVE ANALYSES

East Berlin STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 33 No 9, Sep 84 pp 723-729

[Article by Prof. Dr E. Lieberam, Institute for Theory of State and Law, Academy of Sciences: "The Political System of the GDR as a Topic of the 'Systems Comparison'"]

[Text] Even when just glancing at the literature published in the FRG on the political system, state and law in the GDR, the downright fashionable use of the term "systems comparison" catches the eye. Many publications want to demonstrate "the GDR by systems comparison," promise an FRG-GDR systems comparison, or offer reflections on the "problems of systems comparison."<sup>1</sup> Now it is perfectly possible also to gain knowledge by comparing opposite political system in terms of their class character so as to accurately disclose their nature and the diverse inevitabilities of political structure functioning within them. By far most of the "system comparison" studies by FRG politologists and political scientists, however, pursue a different goal entirely: Comparative analyses between the political systems of the FRG and the GDR have always been a technique for them to distort or disguise these differences. This "systems comparison" sees itself mainly as a "presentation technique"<sup>2</sup> for maligning the GDR's political system but then also as a "heuristic principle" to grasp more precisely its mode of functioning and knock it all over to find weakspots.

This type of bourgeois comparative analysis of political systems characteristically predominates primarily in the FRG. Other capitalist industrial countries make much more of "comparative research" on the political systems of various socialist countries.<sup>3</sup> This peculiarity of a West-East comparison of the political systems of the GDR and the FRG is being explained by that the "contest between the systems on German soil and the common history, language and cultural tradition" invoke that directly, as it were.<sup>4</sup> No surprise then that such comparative studies always again reveal a good portion of revanchism, and this in the sense of conceits, in violation of international law, such as that the "German Empire of 1871" continued to exist and the borders between the two German states were "in a legal sense borders between two federal Laender," as well as in the spirit of maligning the GDR, with the purpose of inciting aggressive sentiments, as being "undemocratic," a "product that has contempt for the will of the people," and the like.<sup>5</sup>

This kind of research on the political system, state and law of the GDR is not just a hobby of interested politologists nor merely something FRG political science and jurisprudence like to deal with. That has never been the case. It is being funded by the FRG government. The results, from which all other "separate studies about the GDR, all the monographs ultimately get their clews,"<sup>6</sup> are in part published directly by the FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations.<sup>7</sup> The publications about the political system of the GDR supply the political anti-communism as taught at the schools, in the FRG Army and at universities and disseminated by the bourgeois mass media with essential arguments and schemata. With it, the contentions in these publications reflect changes and shifts of emphasis in the FRG's policy vis-a-vis the GDR, as undertaken in view of the GDR's increasing economic dynamism and political stability, but also when U.S. imperialism and NATO started their confrontation policy against the socialist countries early in the 1980's. This manner of comparing the political systems of the FRG and the GDR (as research on communism altogether) can thus reveal more about "changes in western foreign policy than about changes in communism."<sup>8</sup>

Comparative bourgeois publications about the political systems of the FRG and the GDR are marked by the inability to develop a sound scientific and methodological set of tools for a true comparison. And that is the actual reason for the invariable whining about a "crisis" in the FRG's research on the GDR. Their realizing the "difficulties" in comparing "ideologically diverse political systems"<sup>9</sup> goes nowhere and does not congeal into statements on prerequisites and limitations because that ultimately is not possible within the scope of the class-bound and epistemological constraints of bourgeois political thought.

The comparative studies on the political systems of the FRG and GDR--as bourgeois political systems theories at large--deny the character of a given political system as a specific social and class-bound entity and its inevitable relations with the material social circumstances. They leave out of consideration that the functions and structures of a political system are shaped by the economic and political interests of the ruling class and by the interactions between classes and strata in their dynamic flux, so that they are subject to qualitative changes and developments.<sup>10</sup>

In the approach to the "systems comparison" three positions can be distinguished. The first, predominant till the late 1960's, went all out in condemning the political system of the GDR as "totalitarian" in its transfiguration of the FRG's political system as "pluralistic and democratic." The second position, predominating in the 1970's, called itself "inherently critical." It pretended having a criterion for analyzing and evaluating the political systems of the FRG and the GDR that came "from within," proceeding from the objectives of the given political systems. A third position, finally, believes it can find or has found suitable "levers for comparisons" by developing "categories for democracy" applicable to all political systems, proceeding from which "the reality of democracy in the FRG and the GDR is analyzed and, in conclusion, comparatively evaluated."<sup>11</sup>

The differences of these positions are politically not irrelevant, but ultimately still relative and fluid. What all three positions have in common is that they are unable to define the specifics in the social systems of the FRG and the GDR so as to provide a precise concept on that basis also that would be scientific for the contrasts of their political systems. A verbal recognition frequently of the

fact that the social systems in the FRG and the GDR are different, and even the use of the terms capitalist and socialist, cannot hide that situation. Either both social orders are seen as "industrial societies" or as capitalist or socialist variants of the "industrial society" with purportedly common problems and characteristics (planning, bureaucracy and so forth),<sup>12</sup> or the GDR's social system is presented as being determined<sup>13</sup> by the "Marxist-Leninist ideology" or being "deformed" by the political system. Nor do they then without the inane contention that the GDR's Marxist-Leninist theory of state and law looked at society as a "system sociotechnologically manipulable at will."<sup>14</sup>

The developing socialist society in the GDR is not taken as the social base that determines the political system and its development but "the other way around, society is presented as the victim--in a more militant version, as the rape victim--of the political-ideological authorities acting for and by themselves."<sup>15</sup> That often goes hand in hand with an exceedingly subjectivistic approach to comparing political systems: "There is no such thing as 'the' or an 'objective' systems comparison. What and how one compares depends on the given cognitive interests or positions in science theory."<sup>16</sup> By such a position then are the variants in condemning the GDR's political system informed. "Merely" the Marxist approach is considered inadmissible that does not deserve to be taken "very seriously."<sup>17</sup>

The fact is that there is an objective yardstick. That lies in comparing political systems of capitalist and socialist countries on the basis of the economic society theory and the resulting strict differentiation between bourgeois and socialist democracy. One has to proceed from the given social and historic quality of the social orders that produce the various political systems because the "social structure and the state" are no autonomous entities that could be structured at will, as little as society is a technical apparatus that could be modified at will, but is a social organism. These are products of social circumstances, of a given economic society. "Social structure and the state constantly evolve out of the life process of certain individuals," individuals, "in how they work and produce materially."<sup>18</sup>

A fundamental and unavoidable consequence of this realization is that, when taken out of this context, the elements and structures of the political systems of different social systems become incomparable. "Once one of these elements, be it the state, law or democracy, is removed from this social entirety, to look at it, and have it exist, by itself, the ground one then enters is by definition unscientific."<sup>19</sup>

Once that consequence is ignored, it leads to all those absurd evaluations truly encountered in abundance among the bourgeois treatises comparing the political systems of the FRG and the GDR. If bourgeois democracy is made the yardstick for socialism and one ignores "only" the relations of coordinated and comradely cooperation which, as a requirement for socialist production and class relations, of necessity shape the political system of socialism in the GDR, one may, in pretended naivete, even pass off the demand for "admitting independent opposition parties" as something that would "stabilize the GDR state."<sup>20</sup> If in the final analysis--despite referring to social and political differences--one abstracts from the given social quality of involving "interest groups" or social organizations in the process of official decision-making in the FRG or the GDR, one can, without ado, talk of a "certain rapprochement of developments in socialist states and western democracies" by saying "that also in the West the state is trying more

and more to charge associations with official tasks."<sup>21</sup> If one constructs such novel "universal values," against which the opposing political systems are to be gaged, some scientists may get a sense of objectivity, but one gets no notion of the essence of bourgeois and socialist democracy in the FRG and the GDR.

Comparing the political systems of capitalist and socialist society provides cognitive value for the theory of socialism's political system only to the degree that this deepens the insights into the nature of its institutions and principles, opposed as they are to the political system of capitalist society. Above and beyond that, the inevitabilities in the political system of socialism cannot be grasped by such a confrontation but only if one concretely analyses how this system "and its various elements take care of the tasks of the revolutionary social transformation; and where, as the political system takes effect, qualities show up that are pointing to new and further progress."<sup>22</sup>

In contrast to the vast majority of the FRG political and legal scientists, who usually take only a peripheral position on questions of political and legal development in the GDR and even indicate now and then a position not dependent on the semi-official "research on the GDR," a relatively small group of rightist-conservative political ideologists aim the "systems comparison" at a militant denigration of the GDR's socialist political system. That includes in particular the professors G. Brunner, O. Kimminich, K. Loew and S. Mampel, who are associated with the "Goettinger Arbeitskreis fuer Ost-West-Forschung" or with the "Gesellschaft fuer Deutschlandforschung e. V."

The platform they share is the totalitarianism schema that was for the most part developed during the Cold War. The method used is to force the institutions and functions of the political system of socialism in the GDR into so tight a conceptual framework that leaves out the class nature of the political power as the rule of the workers class, its ties to the masses, and the new quality of its democratism. Proceeding from the lack of contours caused by it, and by means of anticommunist schemata or defaming contentions about an alleged lack of basic rights, free elections, independent trade unions and so forth, there comes about, time and time again, a truly monstrous specter of a system of "total rule" acting against the population and the individual.<sup>24</sup> New, in contrast to the 1950's, is that the "party rule" now is what is actually "totalitarian." This turns out to be the decisive platform from which incessant attacks are being launched against fundamental principles of the political system of socialism and especially against the leadership role of the working class party. Such a "comparison," linked with a militant enemy image, among other things, aims at terrifying the FRG working people, in their crisis, when they are told of the political systems in the countries of real socialism, to deter them, if possible, from fighting for a socialist alternative. Moreover, the totalitarianism schema at present decidedly serves the political-ideological justification for the nuclear decapitation strategy by the Reagan administration against "evil," against socialism.

In contrast to other FRG treatises on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, where attempts are made to construct contradictions between the ideas of Karl Marx and the way the political system of socialism functions, the rightist-conservative political ideologues have chosen a different variant. They find there is far-reaching agreement--but this only to indict the

GDR, by means of distorted images of the ideas of Marx as of the political system of the GDR, as the embodiment of a "grim loathing of democracy" attributed to Karl Marx.<sup>25</sup>

The importance of the "systems comparison" variant from the rightist conservatives, expounded in recent years with its aggressive thrust, cannot be measured against the relatively small number of its proponents. The publicity given those views in the haute bourgeois press shows their enormous influence. Their weight, also resulting from that the bourgeois research on the GDR, promoted officially by the government, while also by bourgeois political and law theory, is unwilling or unable to develop sets of instruments, truly detached from the totalitarianism schema, to analyse and evaluate the GDR's political system, state and law. There remains in effect the ruling from the conference of the federal Laender's conference of the ministers of public worship and education, of 23 November 1978, on the "German question in instruction," according to which a comparison of political and social conditions in the FRG and the GDR has to be carried out "in accordance with the value judgments of the Basic Law,"<sup>26</sup> meaning that the GDR's political institutions always have to be measured with the yardstick for bourgeois constitutional institutions. Of additional significance are the epistemological limits of bourgeois thought in political science, which cannot comprehend the contradictoriness between the capitalist and the socialist state either by the theory on the industrial society or by the doctrine on forms of state. It lacks the dimension on social formation, without which the difference in quality between the political systems of the FRG and the GDR can, however, not be brought out.<sup>27</sup>

At the same time, though, not a few politologists and political scientists in the FRG have taken a clear distance and are showing a definite discomfort about the totalitarianism concept. That reflects not only the need of the rulers for a more realistic GDR image but also the opposition against a concept that is today being employed to destabilize the political system of socialism by invoking the impending "crusade for freedom" and place in doubt the international law of peaceful coexistence.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. K.-H. Eckhardt, "Die DDR im Systemvergleich" [The GDR in Systems Comparison], Reinbek near Hamburg, 1978; E. Jesse, "System Comparison FRG-GDR," "Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Deutsche Demokratische Republik. Die beiden deutschen Staaten im Vergleich" [FRG and GDR. The Two German States Compared], West Berlin, 1982; H. Kremendahl, "On the Problems of a Systems Comparison," "Bundesrepublik Deutschland . . .," op. cit.; see also W. Behr, "Bundesrepublik Deutschland--Deutsche Demokratische Republik. Systemvergleich Politik-Wirtschaft-Gesellschaft" [FRG--GDR. System Comparison Politics, Economics, Society], Stuttgart, 1979, and "Policy Principles of the FRG and the GDR--A Systems Comparison," AUS POLITIK UND ZEITGESCHICHTE, Bonn, 1978, No 9, pp 3 ff; K. Boeger/H. Kremendahl, "Bundesrepublik Deutschland--Deutsche Demokratische Republik: Vergleich der politischen Systeme" [FRG-GDR: Comparison of the Political Systems], Stuttgart, 1979, 2 volumes.
2. Cf. D. Grille, "Zum Stand der DDR Forschung--ein Literaturbericht" [On the Status of GDR Research--A Review], Politische Studien, Munich, 1980, p 443.

3. Among this kind of comparative analyses of the political systems of socialist countries by FRG politologists and political scientists are G.-J. Glaessner, "Sozialistische Systeme," Opladen, 1982; K. v. Beyme, "Oekonomie und Politik im Sozialismus," 2nd ed., Munich, 1977; and G. Meyer, "Sozialistische Systeme. Theorie und Strukturanalyse," Opladen, 1979.
4. Cf. H. Kr emendahl, "On the Problems of a Systems Comparison," loc. cit., p 302.
5. Typical of it: K. Loew, "Is the GDR a German Democratic Republic?" Politische Studien, 1983, pp 529 ff.
6. Cf. O. Cless, "Sozialismusforschung in der Bundesrepublik" [Socialism Research in the FRG], Cologne, 1978, p 157.
7. That includes especially the DDR Handbuch, 2nd completely revised and expanded edition, Cologne, 1982; "Zahlenspiegel Bundesrepublik/DDR," and the "Berichte der Bundesregierung und Materialien zur Lage der Nation," published in 1971, 1972 and 1974. Especially the second and third report dealt with the questions of the legal order. An authoritative role as coordination centers for research on the GDR is played by the All-German Institute under the Ministry for Inner-German Relations (which had 270 members in 1976) and the Federal Center for Political Education with its Federal Institute for Eastern and International Scientific Studies, under the same ministry. Of the 37 authors of the book [cited in footnote 1], comparing the FRG with the GDR, 20 are employed with the ministerial bureaucracy, in governmental institutes and facilities, in Land governments and the system-supporting parties, or in haute bourgeois newspapers and radio and television stations.
8. V. Gramsov, "Konzeptionelle Wandlungen der Kommunismusforschung: vom Totalitarismus zur Immanenz" [Conceptual Change in Communism Research: From Totalitarianism to Immanence], Frankfurt/Main and New York, 1980, p 200.
9. Cf. E. Jesse, op. cit., p 386.
10. Cf. K.-H. Roeder, "David Easton's Theory on Political Systems--An Attempt at Stabilizing the Rule in State Monopoly Capitalism," "B urgerliches politisches System und Systemtheorie," Berlin, 1978, p 109.
11. H. Kremendahl, op. cit., p 304. The "criteria" cited are such as "democracy as an optimum of participation" or "democracy as securing a minimum of binding basic values."
12. Typical of it is R. Waterkamp, "Herrschaftssysteme und Industriegesellschaft BRD und DDR" [The System of Government and Industrial Society, FRG and GDR], Stuttgart, 1972, pp 6 ff.
13. Cf. K. Schmid, "Die Verfassungssysteme der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der DDR" [The Constitutional Systems of the FRG and the GDR], West Berlin, 1982, p 9.
14. Cf. G.-J. Glaessner, "State and Law in 'Real' Socialism--The GDR Example," AUS POLITIK UND ZEITGESCHICHTE, 1983, Nos 20/21, p 30.

15. O. Cless, "On the Critique of the Bourgeois GDR Research and Its Foundations in Social Theory," "Beitraege zur Sozialismus-Analyse," Vol I, Cologne, 1978, p 12.
16. "FRG-GDR 1, Comparison of the Political Systems," INFORMATIONEN ZUR POLITISCHEN BILDUNG, 1982, No 192, p 11.
17. Like E. Jesse, op. cit., p 389. From Marxist positions the political systems of the FRG and the GDR are compared by the following: "BRD-DDR. Vergleich der Gesellschaftssysteme," 5th ed., Cologne, 1976; "Beitraege zur Sozialismus-analyse," Vols. I, II and III, Cologne, 1978, 1979 and 1981; and O. Cless, "Sozialismusforschung . . .," op. cit.
18. K. Marx/F. Engels, "Werke" [Works], Vol 3, Berlin, 1981, p 25.
19. G. Haney, "Die Demokratie--Wahrheit, Illusionen und Verfaelschungen" [Democracy--Truth, Illusions and Falsifications], Berlin 1971, p 10.
20. Cf. H. Weber, "The 'Socialist' German State?" "Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Deutsche Demokratische Republik," loc. cit., p 217.
21. K. v. Beyme, "Interest Groups--Social Organizations," ibid., p 346.
22. K.-H. Schoeneburg, "Research Methodoly in the Theory of State for Political Systems of Socialist Power," STAAT UND RECHT, 1981, p 255.
23. Constitutional scholar E. Stein, despite certain reservations about the "real conditions in the socialist states," still proceeds from the qualitative difference, caused by social circumstances, between bourgeois and socialist democracy (cf. his "Staatsrecht," Tuebingen, 1976, pp 152 f.).
24. This type of "comparative literature" on the political systems of the FRG and the GDR includes: "Politische Systeme in Deutschland, Studien zur Deutschlandfrage," Vol 4, West Berlin, 1980; "Karl Marx und das politische System der DDR," Stuttgart, 1982; K. Loew, "Rechtsstaat--Demokratie--Sozialstaat. Verstaendnis und Wirklichkeit in beiden Teilen Deutschlands," Cologne, 1980, and his "Die Grundrechte. Verstaendnis und Wirklichkeit in beiden Teilen Deutschlands," Munich, 1977; M. Kriele, "Die Menschenrechte zwischen Ost und West" [Human Rights between East and West], Cologne, 1977.
25. Cf. K. Loew, "Karl Marx and GDR Dictatorship," "Karl Marx und das politische System der DDR," loc. cit., p 31.
26. Reprinted in INFORMATIONEN ZUR POLITISCHEN BILDUNG, 1982, No 192. p 1.
27. After first having presented the Marxist position on the state-society dialectic fairly objectively in his "Allgemeine Staatslehre," (Munich, 1975, pp 111 ff), R. Zippelius then still fully endorses the totalitarianism concept ( pp 159 ff.).

CRIMINAL POLICE OFFICER DISCUSSES METHODS, CRIME RATE

East Berlin TRIBUENE in German 20 Jul 84 p 11

[Ilona Steiner interview with Criminal Police Lt Col Horst Jasper, leading official in the Criminal Police Main Administration of the Ministry of the Interior (date and place of interview not indicated): "With a Sharp Eye at the Scene of the Crime and Knowledge in the Lab, Hot on the Trail of the Perpetrator"]

TRIBUENE: You have been a criminologist for more than 20 years and know the profession inside out. What did that profession do for you?

Jasper: When I began working in my profession, I had my conceptions of it, just as I am sure every young man has even now. I wanted to put a stop to crime, solve mysterious murders. In fact the practice of criminology is quite different and much more difficult--as many a crime fighter can attest. With every case I realized anew that the "inspector" met in the movies and television--solving crimes as if they were conundrums--is really a rather one-sided representation of genuine criminalistic work. In the conditions of our socialist social order, the discovery and elucidation of crime represents a collective effort by the People's Police and presumes mutual trust between it and the citizenry. Each branch of the People's Police makes its own responsible contribution. Crime prevention and the fight against crime require every member of our organs to possess much political and technical knowledge, discipline and commitment. It depends on the reliable work of each individual, whether we can establish the truth and supply the necessary evidence. The great challenges represented by our profession have shaped my personal development also.

TRIBUENE: The crime fighting profession is certainly very popular among boys and even many girls. What is the training necessary for the exercise of this profession?

Jasper: The requirement is the completion of the 10th grade with very good final marks, completed professional training or the high school certificate, completed conscript service and basic training followed by actual service in the uniformed branch of the police. If the applicant comes up to our expectations, he may be delegated to a 2-year course at the Ministry of the Interior's Wilhelm Pieck Police Officers' Academy. I should add, though, that our requirements in the matter of selection are very strict. This

is due to the special features of our profession and, not least, the complexity of the work to be done.

TRIBUENE: How do the girls do?

Jasper: What matters to us is performance and the appropriate basic political attitude. Insofar all applicants enjoy the same opportunities. Still, male applicants have somewhat of an advantage, due to their physical equipment.

TRIBUENE: Your specialty is criminal technology. How is this field to be classified, and what are its particular tasks?

Jasper: Criminal technology is part of socialist criminology and the sphere of work in the criminal police. It is our assignment as per plan to use the knowledge and methods of natural sciences and technology in the discovery, elucidation and prevention of crimes. The tremendous advance of natural sciences and their technical utilization, though, do not only benefit criminal technologists. More and more frequently do criminals, too, use technical achievements, especially with the intention of hiding criminal offenses. For that reason we consider it our political assignment to fully exploit all the potential at our disposal. The better we do that, the greater are our successes in tracking down the offenders, the better we can guarantee the production of scientific and objective evidence and, not least, affect the prevention of crime.

TRIBUENE: The close connection between crime solving and crime prevention is constantly being emphasized.

Jasper: Evidently we assume the principle that the discovery and solution of each crime is among the most effective means of prevention. To cite Lenin: "It is less important for a crime to incur a severe penalty than for not a single crime to remain unsolved."

TRIBUENE: Could you cite an actual example to explain this proposition to our readers?

Jasper: Prevention to us means, for example, looking beyond the immediate offense whenever we are called to solve a crime. Clues and other criminalistically relevant manifestations often indicate other and potential offenses. Upon investigation of thefts in a factory, we may note that order and safety are being grossly neglected. The responsible managers are then encouraged to initiate measures preventing further damage. Another example to demonstrate why it is an important concern of our work to elucidate the causes of crime and the circumstances favoring it: The investigation of the causes of a tractor catching fire yielded the information that the wiring was faulty. The manufacturers were pressured, and further damage of this nature was thereby prevented.

TRIBUENE: From time to time the newspapers publish notices from the criminal police, asking for help from our citizens. What is the response to these appeals, and what is the importance to the criminal police of information from the public?

Jasper: The response to appeals for help is very great indeed. Our citizens know that even the tiniest indication may be important. That, though, is only one type of cooperation. We are happy to welcome the increasing commitment of our citizens to personal involvement in the maintenance of order and safety in their residential districts and work places. Last year alone we rewarded 3,500 citizens who worked for the prevention of and the struggle against crime, confronted offenders or, by their information, helped solve crimes. The prevention and solution of crimes and other offenses is most successful wherever we observe close cooperation among all social forces and state organs for exemplary public order and safety. In such conditions criminals have few opportunities. Together with the public, we endeavor by our work (which is service to the public in the truest sense of that word) not to allow crimes to happen in the first place.

TRIBUENE: Is a member of the public entitled to intervene when witnessing a crime?

Jasper: Indeed, the penal code authorizes him to that effect. Anyone in such a situation may temporarily hold the offender and hand him over to the prosecuting organs. Of course the citizen would be repaid for any costs arising as the result of his intervention.

TRIBUENE: On the other hand, some people simply love to do the work of the criminal police and play at being detectives themselves. Are these desirable initiatives?

Jasper: Certainly not. It is much more important for us to be notified without delay. Nothing should be touched at the scene of the crime, because clues may all too easily be lost.

TRIBUENE: Sherlock Holmes was already on the track of clues. How far has criminal technology advanced in the recognition and investigation of clues?

Jasper: Simple comparative procedures, such as measurements, weighing, observations, adjustment, and so on, were already practised in classical antiquity. Of course the use of scientific procedures in criminology was possible only following the emergence of the natural sciences. Let me cite a few examples: Following the growth of our knowledge of the development of man and of biology, the bases were established enabling us to identify individuals.

In 1883, for example, Bertillon measured various parts of the body to determine the identity of individuals. Shortly thereafter, the Englishmen Herschel, Henry and Galton and the Scotsman Dr H. Faulds developed dactyloscopy (the theory of fingerprints) for criminological practice. Argentina was the first country to use this new knowledge in its police practice. Now we cannot even imagine carrying on our work without dactyloscopy to identify the persons leaving behind clues.

We have come to the point of being able by, for example, the neutron activation analysis (a procedure free of any destructive results) of being able to

trace some elements in the minutest quantities, ranging from  $10^{-8}$  grams to  $10^{-12}$  grams, and to do so within seconds. This process is used to determine, among others, the presence of arsenic in hair, find traces of gold in containers used to transport it, and describe splinters of varnish, glass or chaff. Even more possibilities are constantly being developed. Let me remind you of the knowledge provided for us by microbiology and the potential for criminal investigation arising from the development of microelectronics. What may be achieved by our methods of investigation is well demonstrated by the following case: When investigating a crime, we recovered a glass splinter from the pants of the suspect. It was barely visible to the naked eye (0.35 mm by 0.38 mm). Nevertheless we were able to definitely place it with the window that the criminal had smashed at the scene of the crime.

TRIBUENE: Who decides when an investigation is to be initiated or abandoned?

Jasper: According to the GDR trial code, this decision is up to the public prosecutor and the authorized managers in the criminal police.

TRIBUENE: When an investigation is temporarily abandoned by the investigating organs, possibly because it is impossible at the time to ascertain the offender, does the criminal police shelve the affair?

Jasper: We obviously endeavor to quickly clear up all crimes and not let it come to the temporary abandonment of the investigation. Thanks to the social conditions prevailing in the GDR, our well trained personnel, their tremendous commitment and the equipment available to us, we achieve excellent results. If an investigation needs to be temporarily suspended nevertheless, this certainly does not mean that we leave the elucidation of these crimes to chance. We examine all investigations to see whether there are any possibilities for a final result. We use any hints or information available. Consequently we manage to find the perpetrators of many crimes, even if the investigation had rested temporarily, and even though several years may have elapsed in some instances.

TRIBUENE: Fingerprints are mentioned in almost every reported crime. What is their importance to the criminologist?

Jasper: Fingerprints and also hand and footprints have a great identifying value. The reason is the fact that the papilla variously arranged on the skin form patterns in just these places: The so-called pattern of papillary lines. This pattern, on the fingertip, for example, is not repeated a single time. Consequently it is characteristic for a specific individual. It evolves as early as the 3rd or 4th embryonic month and, except for serious injury at a very early stage of the individual's life, remains relatively unchanged until the decomposition of the skin layers after death. These features are quite ideal as proof of individual identity. We may also use these clues for conclusions on the circumstances of the crime and even the actual time it was committed.

TRIBUENE: What in actual fact is read off these clues?

Jasper: By comparing fingerprints we may find out, for example, whether the suspect in fact left the clue. It is often argued that the tool of the crime had been touched in quite a different context. However, we may conclude from the position of the fingerprints whether, for example, someone merely drank from a bottle or used it as a weapon. Incidentally, gloves quite often also lead us to the criminal, because gloves, too, leave behind typical traces.

TRIBUENE: Criminal technologists perform wonders in investigations and other detective procedures. Do other fields of science also profit from the possibilities and methods of criminal technology?

Jasper: There is hardly any branch of science that we do not use for our work. In our efforts as quickly as possible to find out the objective truth, we do of course utilize the most modern means and methods. Conversely, other sciences also profit from the results of our research, methods and possibilities. We thus get a back and forth. At this point, let me give you some "textbook examples": The study of handwriting made it possible for the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the SED CC, for example, to decipher some barely legible texts--manuscripts by Marx and Engels. or the criminological laboratory at Warsaw University to restore letters by Chopin . With the aid of the criminological investigation of documents, passages in Beethoven's records of conversations were once again made visible.

TRIBUENE: How realistically do novels and movies reflect the work of the criminal police?

Jasper: I regret not having much time to thoroughly analyze detective novels. Of course there is good and also poor detective fiction. I prefer to read descriptions of crimes that realistically depict the detection and complexity of investigations. Unfortunately much of the writing tends to be unduly dramatic and unrealistic. Of course I quite understand that, because the reader or spectator is supposed to be kept in suspense. Still, I personally like best the books by Manfred Drews--"Kriminalisten im Verhoer" [Criminologists at Interrogation] and "Kriminalisten im Einsatz" [Criminologists at Work].

TRIBUENE: In your capacity as criminologists you are therefore interested in detective fiction also?

Jasper: Of course I am, but I am very choosy. I like to read classical detective fiction (to be found even among Schiller's writings). Authentic reports mean something to me, they allow me to learn from them. Consequently I note somewhat ruefully that our public tends to expect sensational reports. In fact murders, robberies and so on are rather the exception here by comparison with other crimes. In 1982, for example, we had only one premeditated killing and only 65 bodily injuries per 100,000 population. By contrast thereto, we recorded 130 thefts of socialist property and 173 thefts of personal and private property. It is these "minor crimes" that sometimes baffle us. The scene of the crime repeatedly demonstrates that the cause of such offenses tends to be the negligent and indifferent attitude of some of the public toward handling socialist and even their personal property.

We often make it all too easy for the thieves. It is my personal wish that the public may be influenced in the right direction, and I hope that suitable publications will help.

11698

CSO: 2300/58

POET LAMENTS DESTRUCTION OF RURAL LANDSCAPE

East Berlin NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR in German Vol 32 No 10, Oct 84 pp 38-42

[Article by Jurij Koch: "...I Saw Them in a Lovely Setting, Our Villages"]

[Text] The semi-peasant Hanzo Nepila from Rohne near Weisswasser composed 30 handwritten books, describing his life, his experiences and his opinions. When he died in 1856, old Sorbian custom was followed, and his possessions were buried with him, including these books. Some 400 pages of his records have survived. There we may read sentences such as the following: "I must say, some of the fir trees were as tall as the tower at Schleife...I climbed the tallest one, and below me I saw them in their lovely setting, our villages."

Like that semi-peasant Nepila I, too, am searching for the tallest fir in my landscape in order to climb it. And, 150 years after him, I will feel the same contentment: There they are in their lovely setting, our villages. Are all of them still here? Some are missing in the one direction, others in the other.

But what is it with that lamentation, sentimentality and melancholy of the poet? Does he not also write by lamplight, and does not electricity make the keys of his typewriter visible? Is he not standing next to the central heating that gets its warmth from the combine which has devoured the missing villages on this and the other side?

So I look at this changed landscape, the plowed field in its dual significance, the strip mines, the developments, the decay. "Yet who develops the strip mines of our hearts," says a poem by Kito Lorenc, who makes an effort to descend into their depths, not getting the better of overburden, sand and gravel but of comfortable complacency, convenient ignorance, technical-geographical superficiality?

Technical progress and industrialization are the signs of our age. We live with them. There have always been such signs. Men have always had to live with them. The discovery of the wheel was a technical advance. Did not the rattling of the first mill disturb the divine quiet? That which is nowadays considered romantic sentiment was then the beginning of machinery disturbing the peace. That is the way of the world. But it is hard to imagine that the Black Pump will at any time in the future

be considered a metaphor for Lausitz coziness. (Let someone try to write a poem about a gas combine!)

I am not Don Quixote, and I do not fight windmills. I am glad about the conversion of energy. I like to drive. I know that our 25 million year old coal yields drugs that save people from an early death.

And yet I permit myself to question the ratio of material profit to spiritual-moral loss. Technical civilization alone will not make us happy. In our social circumstances, it must be able to prove that material wealth is not equivalent to ethical poverty. It must give an accounting of what it gives and what it takes. Is progress still progressive when it destroys? The soul of the landscape fears noise. We must succeed in saving it, for us, in our time--if we do not, we ourselves cannot be saved.

Residing at Gruenstrasse 21 in the old part of Hoyerswerda is Maria Schieber, 64. One afternoon in June 1969, she and the other remaining villagers left the hamlet of Parwitz. The overburden excavator stood outside her door. When I asked how she had taken leave of her home, she said: "I locked everything. The key was very big. When my husband went once more to pick up bricks, the door came off the hinges. He said: You wouldn't have needed to lock it. A pity, it was such a good looking door..."

Kurt Kokot of Tranitz near Cottbus was left behind as guardian of the abandoned village. His job: To check the police licenses of the urban--not to say capital--modern hunters and collectors. He said: "The stork! For the first time the stork failed to come. That makes me feel sad."

A pity, it was such a good looking door...For the first time the stork failed to come...

The village has a soul. It sits on the mossy walls, in the joints between the houses, in the summer kitchens, on the pear tree in the garden. The soul is represented by century-old neighborhoods, the old structures, the acquaintances, the quarrels known to everyone, the tricks of daily life, stupidity armed with the biggest potatoes, the contrasts, the obvious conflicts, the fairs, the gossip: Who has whom, and is it true that...?, the fact that 500 or more people learn of the death of one from their midst as if a wildfire of mourning had spread through their hearts, Sunday's chitchat outside the church, the ability to provide information about the man next door, the greenery, the improvisation, the resistance to industrial perfection, the mess, the negligence, the pungent smell from the stables, the children in the woods of the vicinity, in the trees instead of on jungle gyms, the grandfather with his face in the wash bowl, the steam of the feed potatoes, the baby on the pot in the kitchen and the symbiosis of scent and stink, the smell of milk and piss, the girls, their inherited fear of Satan's apple (and the recurrent early bite into it, vigorously so that the juices flow) on the meadow, close to the ditch in which fish and tadpoles still swim, the elderberry bush, the wedding eve party and the practical joke, the coach on the roof, the entire village at the wedding, the old people who are still able to tell tales--true, false and cut out of the whole

cloth-- , the legends that have not yet been written down, no writer knows of them and therefore cannot spoil them, the still undecided battle between legend and apparatus, and the justified hope that the legend will be victorious, childhood which here is still childhood, the model thereby established for life, the other and better basic experience, the basic experience of childhood, this empire, this continent of hope where nobody thinks about the meaning of life, because nobody misses it. All that and more is the soul of the village.

If only we could take it with us to the new home between concrete and balcony!

I am standing on my fir tree and watch the green areas in the midst of the strip mines. Recultivation. By industrial waste water. And yet--it grows. Grain. Bread. On sand and gravel. On rearranged soil. The 25 million years have been brought to light, for the purpose of supplying light and oil. The benefit is obvious. Damage is invisible. Why then the lamentations of sensitized artists? Sensitized by what? By the ethics of their profession, which burdens them with perennial doubt. Are we not committing any mistakes?

So I see the lost villages, the age old settlements below which light burned, to which light we have advanced, and rightfully so. Why do I not spy any new settlements? Why has no new village been added? Is that a dumb expectation? I imagine how the compensated people--the resolute village community of farmers, artisans, bricklayers and carpenters, plumbers and handymen--might build up a new village, at an assigned location, how they might redraw the lost face of the old settlements, with the old neighborhoods, or new, freely chosen and self-determined ones, how they might preserve what is worth preserving, save what should be saved, how they might drag their culture with them into our age that has such urgent need of it. They would build hell for leather, no villages have ever arisen so quickly, so cheap and so good value and so handsome. We would only have to take care that no urban planners should mingle with them, introduce their urbanized advice and wisdom. Village culture would find a new home.

It is wrong to believe that the city has the higher settlement culture. We may well be glad to get to the city and its better cultural facilities. It is wrong to assume that urbanization will continue its victorious advance, until all people will finally live in the city, in the paradise of settlement policy, at the top of the ladder, happy at last. Even in another 1,000 years and more, villages will still persist, with their own mentality, culture, art, lifestyle, quality of life, providing basic experiences, serving as models, allowing for childhood. The independence of village culture must be defended, its sovereignty preserved, interference in its internal affairs prevented (skyscrapers and housing complexes in the village?), the equality of the two cultures must be safeguarded, the indigenous creativity of the rural people taken into account; parallelism, not polarization, is needed.

In the Greek polis, that original form of the city--arisen 3,000 years ago-- , both cultures coexisted in a very confined space. The core of the city, the castle, and the farming region belonging to it, made up the polis. I need not remind anyone of the majestic culture which proceeded from it.

The engineer manages the development of the strip mine for 5 days a week. On the 6th day he drives to his cottage in the granite mountains, where he feels safe from his own machines. Where do we get this longing for the idyllic life? Nobody is bothered by their philistine connotation, no worker, no minister, no poet. Wherefrom do we get the renaissance of old customs, forgotten apparel, myths and legends? Where does the warmth of the homesteads come from, their peace, the salvation everybody craves? Wherefrom the increasing influence of the mythical element in art? Which are the values worth preserving? After the encounter with the technical revolution, what remains of our mentalities, customs and traditions? What is lost? The answer is not hard to find. But could we not make it harder? How much do we lose by gaining so much?

I saw them in a lovely setting, our villages...I descend like that semi-peasant Nepila from Rohne, will tell you that some of the fir trees were as tall as the tower at Schleife. One can still live down here. But we must strive to see that this state of affairs may continue.

11698

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PROVIDING ALTERNATIVE TO SOCIETY NOT ROLE OF CHURCH

East Berlin STANDPUNKT in German Vol 12 No 9, Sep 84 pp 250-253

[Article by Pastor B. Schottstaedt: "GDR Protestantism Reflected in Ecumenical Experience"]

[Text] My friends,

Several of you have asked how I see the Protestant Church in the GDR after my ecumenical services abroad, what I might contribute, and whether the churches in general are up to their confessional services as churches for people who are building socialism. I will deal with these questions one by one but will also point out some things that must not be forgotten.

1. How I see the churches in the GDR now,
2. What I have learned abroad and wish to contribute here (whether I will be able to do that is another question entirely),
3. What, in my opinion, the churches would have to do in the service of man in a socialist country.

As regards point No 1: Considering my churches in my country, I may rightfully speak only if I include myself, and only if I do not suppress the history of these churches and their professions, and if I take into account their working tools, in other words their agencies and centers. Of course I must also keep in mind the various levels. It makes a difference whether I use the word "church" in the context of persons in the synod, the church directorate, the bishop, the church authorities or the local parish, the region or the Church in a district.

Let me start with the last named. Here I note that great openness to fraternal cohabitation, to listening to the word of God and learning from history predominate in the parishes, regions and districts, although there are ministers and other church personnel who postulate a free range for the Church and invite people to groan, lament and wail--in other words present the Church as a refuge and alternative to society, in the enterprise, the school or a political organization.

Of course I am quite aware that it is necessary at some times to groan in order to be able once again to pray. We may certainly lament to God.

Still, the Church is not an institution with buildings and a particular apparatus, designed to construct an all-round alternative to society. In this context I see a certain danger. To cite only one example: There are people who believe--very naively--that the Church offers better opportunities than social organizations for the work for peace. At various levels--even in the parishes--some people who interpret the Church's independent work for peace as a political action, not so much a contribution to international peace efforts than as a tool against socialism. Of course that is not the result of blind chance. For the longest time our churches had a definitely anticommunist bias, and, well into the 1970's, many parishes considered the Church as the "last tie" uniting "divided Germany."

The Church Union was founded in 1969. By now the Union of Protestant Churches has become a highly regarded dimension in the GDR. It has a significant role in ecumenical affairs and in our country. A large full-time staff busily administers our shrunk Church communities. Let me comment at this stage that all this is far removed from the rank and file of a local parish. Altogether, it seems to me that administrations could manage perfectly well without people; it would be enough to properly administer the money, the laws and--here and there--the word of God also. People? Sometimes I am tempted to say, "God has become man! Following His taking human form, may you live humanely in and with the Church." Of course I then ask myself whether I saw matters differently before my time abroad. I leaf through my diaries, sermons and lectures from the 1970's and note the following: It was quite evident to me immediately after the foundation of the Church Union that something had been set going without penance. The EKD [Protestant Church in Germany] flag that had until then kept together the churches in the GDR, was rolled up but not burnt.

And what was then and is now ecumenical? We now have a president of the Ecumenical Council of the Churches in the GDR, and we can boast of many operational ecumenical organs. The state of affairs before the foundation of the Union was very different. At that time we had ecumenical pioneers who expanded contacts with the various groups arising all over the world, who also labored and prayed for a church but did not primarily look to the agencies and regular church centers but to men of faith who had personally committed themselves to peace, justice, agreement and ecumenical prayer.

When I began work at the Gossen Mission in 1954, we quickly entered into contacts with CIMADE in France, Taize Agape in Italy, the Brethren, the Quakers and the Sheffield Mission in Great Britain and the Iona Confraternity in Scotland, with representatives of the Bohemian Brothers in the CSSR and the churches of the Soviet Union as well as with the ecclesiastical confraternities in the FRG. Reconciliation and peace were our mottoes; all of us wanted a church that lived reconciliation. Also in those days we had fairly regular visits from representatives of the OeRK, who were keen to find out about the work of the church in socialism. The general secretaries themselves came, and I was repeatedly allowed to act as their host. All that changed once the Union was established. Our very lively ecumenical links were suddenly downgraded to mere working relations, evidently in contrast to the Union's official relations. I spoke against this trend

right from the start, even in my role of secretary to the Preliminary Ecumenical Commission in 1967-1969. I publicly told Bishop Schoenherr that I considered this distinction to be quite wrong. The effects of this--ultimately--bureaucratic trend are more and more obvious at the present time, so that we simply must begin again in small confraternities (communities) to return to the line of the pioneers--to ecumenical thought, work and prayer. God's spirit is easily lost in officially administered ecumenics, where money, laws and the administered gospel tend to predominate. Of course some papers--even good ones--may be produced, but there is little life in them.

The ecumenical pioneers of the 1950's were perfectly aware that the Gospel must not be misused as message against communism. Instead it had to be used as a force enabling men to work for peace with justice. Of course at that time Niemoeller and Heinemann, Grueber and Iwand were still involved, and here in the GDR the leaders were Werner Schmauch, Guenter Jacob, Fritz Fuehr, Friedrich-Wilhelm Krummacker and Moritz Mitzenheim. At that time it was quite normal for ecumenical pioneers to help establish the CFK [Christian Conference for Peace], and Hromadka achieved more than renown with us--his witness helped us toward genuine service in socialism.

On the other hand we must remember that this our brother from Prague was often ignored or, described "assimilated to communism," snubbed by the church leaders in the GDR. The same fate befell Emil Fuchs and many others in our country.

At this point the Church Union emerged and turned into the spokesman for all Protestant churches in the GDR. Nothing much new happened at the level of consciousness shaping. Indeed, I observed Christians, still obsessed with "pan-Germanism," not only tending to come to the fore again but even helping (in some Synods, for example) the so-called left to be shunted aside. Still, the same could be noted in ecumenical bodies as a whole.

Mediocrity reigns triumphant. The Lind progressives are administering. Does our peace witness really mean no more than that we welcome all that? Does it help no longer to talk about the past? I, for one, have decided to remind people of the past I myself lived and to repeatedly cite the theologians who really helped me. We must recall the names of Karl Barth, Josef Hromadka, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Emil Fuchs and Werner Schmauch, lest the witness of the pioneers is to be lost.

I also wish to indicate another aspect which is assuming increasing importance in the course of my service as parish priest: The dialogue with non-Christians, with Marxists. I do not wish to imply that we do not need major and official talks, but we also need--and just as much--conversations between people who trust one another, and who do not forget the story of the victims--nor that of the fighters. More Marxists than Christians were murdered in Nazi concentration camps. Very few Christians fought for a more equitable world in Europe--in Spain or, underground, in Nazi Germany. At the present time ecumenical pioneers are learning much about the fighters of the Third World. When we look back on our history as churches in Germany, we are bound to admit: We were barely involved. Just now it is very worth while to be

involved in the construction of a more equitable society. Unfortunately I still see far too few of us engaging in open and frank dialogue with Marxists.

Another matter which troubles me: There are those in the Church administration, with whom I was formerly able to collaborate relatively well. By no means all of them were open to a new socialist society, but they have surely experienced a change of heart. I have very little access to them now; they may say here and there "you and your insights are needed," but in the final analysis they do not need me.

Many of you will now ask whether I cannot mention anything positive at all. Maybe I already mentioned some. It is welcome that we hear more talk now of the Church in the GDR as the Church in socialism. Many no longer wish to bypass socialism. It is certainly welcome that those who are politically committed are no longer vilified, that indeed their experiences of political work are sought. Another welcome fact is the one that the term "peace minister" is no longer a pejorative term, and that we do on occasion note a reorientation which is less concerned with the methodological renewal of the Church than with life by and with the word of God.

As for No 2: I learned a great deal from my ecumenical experiences. And yet not all of them were positive.

I will mention some points that have assumed great importance for my life in my Church. Three words have been important to me for many years. They are text, history and life. The word of God must be opposed to all free range thinking in the Church, all assembly in the Church. The one and only word of God that will free us for the right service. Of course, disputes may arise about this one word of God, especially when it becomes a matter of confessional texts or articles of a confessional nature. I often remember the 1960's, when the Conference of Church Leaders (1963) published ten articles and the Weissensee Study Group responded by seven tenets. These 1963 texts should be republished, together with Karl Barth's expert opinion on the 10 articles. In general it is important for us to make an effort to handle the properly heard, properly comprehended and properly interpreted word of God.

In all this, the word of God has great personal relevance and challenges me to live consonant with it. It also helps me review my past. And when we are thus guided by the word of God--this year we remember the Barmen Declaration of 50 years ago--, we are not just talking about the Church, are not merely busying ourselves with the Church, the Church is no business nor an employment agency. Instead the Church is an assembly of people, where this word of God is proclaimed, where it calls to life, to peace and to prayer.

The properly preached word of God is important to me! And therefore the service also, begun in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and ending with the blessing as the call to vocation. I would like to help vitalize Sunday services, not so much by introducing new elements

and certainly not by omitting a well prepared sermon. I do wish, though, for laymen to speak out during the service, to bear witness and pray with the minister. Concrete intercession has become very important to me. It is the vital nourishment of universality. At the same time I would like to instigate greater humanity. Where else could it be taught better than during public worship? Let us abandon the often used tactics--sometimes our brothers and sisters mistake tactics for the ministry. Maybe it would even be possible altogether to abandon tactics in the association of Christians!

Another thing I learned: It is vital well to instruct our children who are taught their catechism. Sunday school is not primarily a time of play, a festive climax with games and music. Sunday school is instruction in the Bible. It must provide biblical guidelines, help to convey the experiences of the fathers of our faith. Praying needs to be practiced. Children like to bring along their fathers or mothers, so that they also should handle the Bible again. Many U.S. churches hold Bible classes on Sunday mornings. Adults meet to read the Bible at least once a week. We should introduce this practice. We must not neglect the word of God.

In recent months we have held evening meetings with brethren who once held office in the Church and are now retired. They recounted their lives. It is so immensely important to learn from those who tried to lead their lives in penitence, and who are now able in all humility to tell us about it.

I learned abroad that money is needed in the Church also, but that money must never become the motive force. He who administers it needs strong faith, founded on love. Money and the law are always and ever the enemies of God's love. Sometimes they inveigle men of great good will to become representatives and bureaucrats. It is therefore imperative for the Church and society constantly to point out certain attitudes and personal features--as Kurt Hager, for example, did in December last at a SED Conference. As indispensable prerequisites for living together, he listed mutual respect, politeness, tact, modesty, reliability, punctuality, self-control and discipline. Such behavior--arising for Christians from the love of God--helps men to live together harmoniously.

Something else I learned also: That we are most free when we can laugh at ourselves. There are people able to do that, and they are highly important to ecumenism. They are also of the utmost assistance in the dialogue with non-Christians.

Small active groups are important for the Church as a whole. They retain their importance if the people involved in them start something or other from genuine conviction. I would like to see committed people at work in our Church, people who do something because their hearts were set afire, who will not, for example, yield on the issue of prayer for peace and commitment to the peoples of the Third World. Ecumenism lives by such groups. In the domestic circles of our parishes, also, I would like to see people from non-Protestant churches. Such border crossings help the development of the community. Will I be able to get that going? I am making every

effort in my capacity as pastor of a parish. Will I thereby be able to help the Church generally? I do believe so, although--as I complained before--representatives and bureaucrats do not like to be helped. They wish to be the ones who help, but usually do so with condescension. The question therefore arises for me and my friends in the parishes, in how far we should include our "superiors" in our community life. I would like to make the effort and not always have a big to do when a bishop visits us. I have learned that brothers and sisters in leadership positions live quite normal lives in the parishes and accept the company of their actual fellow parishioners. We ask senior brothers to deliver sermons. Is that enough to constitute a shared life? People should involve themselves in the community where they live. Of course I would like to see the theologians included in parish life also. Ecclesiastical lawyers also--there are few of them in the churches in general--should hold a spiritual office in their local parish. In an age like ours it is important for rank and file friends to combine, people who are preoccupied with the cause of Jesus Christ without tactics or the desire for power, and who do not slacken in their piety.

Regarding No 3: A few summarizing remarks on our churches' service to the people who are construction socialism in the GDR.

Not everything goes well in socialism, and people do not always meet their challenges. There is consequently a general trend toward bureaucratism, and people aim thereby to ease their labors. Mistakes are made, contradictions arise. Much has been written and said about them. People do not like having to excuse themselves. Regret and penance do not sit well in human life, and yet humanity is made stronger thereby.

Church members must not rejoice, must not maliciously relish the occasional lapses of socialism. Instead they must persist in the genuine attempt at lending a hand to that society which at least offers an opportunity for social justice, in which nobody is abandoned. Members of the Church should beat their own breasts and say: We live as sheep gone astray, Lord help us turn back!--

By adopting such attitudes, the churches in the GDR will render the best service; such an attitude will not make us appear as know-all in an independent free range but as persons who at all times wish to practice service to others. State property, for example, must be honestly and loyally administered; commitment on the job requires us to work without wasting time. The distribution of consumer goods in our department stores is a great humanist task, and so is health care, the drafting of plans for production and services. All these are assignments that Christians, members of churches, may help carry out responsibly. If, therefore, the churches work for men for the sake of Christ, all will be fully occupied in being of service themselves.

In addition we obviously also need an international outlook, in other words the awareness that greater social justice needs to be victorious everywhere in the world, and that international monopolies may not drive the world to war for the sake of their constantly rising profits. Anyway, long before another war, masses the world over will have died of hunger and disease. We need the outlook described in socialism as international solidarity,

and which makes for much hard work. Here also it is necessary greatly to raise the consciousness in the parishes.

Lastly: I would like to help toward our churches not only formally praying "come, Lord Jesus," but for this concluding prayer of the Bible to remain the constant driving force in church life. He who can thus pray, "yes, come Lord Jesus," constantly liberates himself from his own activism, is led into the crowd of people who thank God for this world and know that He, our God, remains at the end of time. However, this should not be a cheap solace, nor deflect us from the most burning issues of daily life. Indeed it is the ultimate authority which returns us to the beginning, lets us begin again. We need not give up. We can merrily continue our labors until the Day of Judgment.

I have tried here to respond to three questions from my friends by reporting my own experiences and feelings. I am quite aware that my very subjective answers will not please all my friends. I do hope, though, that we will continue our lively exchange on issues of Christian life in our age, and that we will not rust--let alone freeze up--because, from an international standpoint, the climate in which we live has turned colder.

One day, when I have more leisure, I would like to write a book describing and proclaiming friendship among men. I have seen and experienced friendship enriching me across the years and decades, friendship which knows no borders nor can be captured in systems, ideologies or theologies. Friendship is a source of strength for life lived adventurously. And I see so much friendship between people the world over, that I retain my hopes for the future of the world.

11698

CSO: 2300/43

'WARTBURG DIALOGUE' BETWEEN ULBRIGHT, THURINGIAN BISHOP RECALLED

East Berlin STANDPUNKT in German Vol 12 No 9, Sep 84 p 265

[Article by H. Mitzenheim, High Consistory of the Evangelical Church:  
"My Point of View"]

[Text] In the course of these weeks we are variously commemorating the history of the GDR in the 35 years of its existence. For many of us this is bound to cause us, as citizens of our state, to reflect on our own lives in the past 35 years, to recall events of special personal importance and consider them in connection with the emergence and being of the GDR. These memories will show us how closely linked are the events of our lives with the events of our state even though, unlike my wife and I, not many will this year also celebrate 35 years of marriage.

However, I want to recall another event that had its 20th anniversary a few weeks ago.

I remember very vividly the birthday of my father, on 17 August 1964, celebrated as usual by our large family. It happened to be a very ordinary birthday--not a "zero" year with its special emphasis. But--something was different. Shortly before, the chairman of the Council of State had, most surprisingly, invited the Thuringian bishop to the Wartburg, for a talk on 18 August. The invitation had not been preceded by any discussions about an agenda. No wonder that this birthday did not feature only congratulations and a merry company of the family, but also included a serious conversation between father and son, devoted to reflections about next day's visit. We agreed that this talk would have fundamental implications for the future life of our Church in our state and, at the same time, offer an opportunity to address human problems which needed settling in a spirit of humanism.

The course and subject matter of the conversation between the chairman of the Council of State and the Thuringian bishop confirmed our speculations. The "Wartburg dialogue" of 20 years ago staked out significant political and ecclesiastical positions that could not be mistaken by anyone. They have been of great importance until 6 March 1978 and beyond for the further development of the relations between state and Church.

That concerns more than the issue of "pensioner travel," though this was my father's pet concern for many years, quickly settled after the fateful

conversation. Although it initiated a trend of great significance regarding the opportunities for family and personal communications between GDR and FRG citizens, and continues so to this day, the agreement achieved in the course of the dialogue by Walter Ulbricht and Moritz Mitzenheim was of great import yet.

The chairman of the Council of State accepted the unequivocal statements made shortly before by the bishop in his sermon on the occasion of the 50th and 25th anniversaries respectively of the beginning of World Wars I and II; more--Walter Ulbricht emphasized their common concerns: The challenge to do more to prevent wars. The conclusion that reason and humanity require negotiations, detente, agreement and disarmament. The appeal to Germans to champion peace, mutual trust and treaties, for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe. The bishop described as both necessary and helpful the clear demarcation between Church interference in government matters on the one hand and Church pronouncements on vital issues, backed by the Gospel and sheer reason on the other. The chairman of the Council of State tied this in with his observation that a common humanist responsibility links all of us.

It is probably good enough to recall these most important trains of thought of the Wartburg dialogue. We have all lived through the developments of the 20 years since, and many of us have helped shape them, each in their own sphere. The differentiation, as defined by the Thuringian Land bishop then, between any inappropriate Church interference in political issues and its necessary statements, determined by the Gospel, has become one of our most important principles. Its observance, aided by mutual understanding, has significantly eased the development of state-Church relations. Best of all, the call for the preservation of peace then proposed by the bishop (unfortunately, of enormous topicality even now) and agreed by the chairman of the Council of State, has become the common concern of the Protestant Church in our state.

Anniversaries are occasions for remembering and also for further thoughts about the present and the future.

11698

CSO: 2300/61

RADIOS INITIATE REFORMS, DIFFERENTIATION, EXPAND PROGRAMMING

Budapest RADIO ES TELEVIZIO UJSAG in Hungarian 20-26 Aug 84 p 3

[Interview with Dr Kalman Kiss by J.B.: "Clearer News System on the Three Programs: 'Napkozben' [By Day] Five Times Weekly: 'Kulturalis Magazin' [Cultural Magazine]; 24-hour Petofi Program"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Beginning 1 October, radio listeners will witness a rather large migration: programs will move to new time periods, some will disappear forever, and in their places new ones will appear. The knowledgeable public will know already from this that the program structure will be changing. Of course most of the "residents" will remain in place, but the change is still of such proportions that everyone will certainly notice. It is really an adjustment in the program structure, the implementation of changes that are overdue. For some programs grow old, others move away, audiences change, and there are new demands which can only be satisfied by new programs. In essence, the radio program must be made more successful, more efficient, and more responsive to developing demands and changes in the public's rhythm of life.

"In planning, testing and introducing a new structure, we will be making a significant practical step forward in improving and developing our programming," says Dr Kalman Kiss, vice-president. "But the structural change is only a possibility which the program producers will have to know how to use, filling it with as high a level of content as possible. We have tried to make the new program structure such that it would inspire the creation of a radio program that would better meet our political goals and the demands of the public. It should promote the creation of new programs, revive tired ones and give opportunity for out-dated ones to be discontinued. The program should progress inspite of difficulties encountered in the economic situation, even under worse circumstances for Hungarian radio broadcasting. For the increase in global political tensions means a new task: it should stimulate the radio to keep its audience and its social respectability and to create an interesting, attractive and meaningful program policy and a realistic image of socialism.

[Question] As a result of debates, discussions and agreements that have taken place in various Radio forums, a new program schedule has been

developed with two important goals: communication of values and orientation toward the public. Aren't these two goals contradictory to one another?

[Answer] The contradiction is only an apparent one. The radio has always been a disseminator and propagator of values, whether they be ideas, artistic works, economic categories or technical discoveries. We recognized long ago that a medium like the radio, which reaches everyone -- and a voice like the radio's, which speaks to everyone -- has a great opportunity for spreading the good, valuable, noble and most worthwhile things and at last making them common property. This happens, of course, if all this is offered and presented in sufficient quantities and appropriate forms to a public that is composed of very many kinds of people. Public orientation does not mean that we serve every kind of demand without reservation, including those with political consequences or those that would lower the level of quality. One nice thing about our work is that we have to find the way to satisfy demands in such a way that at the same time the demands of the audience will also rise.

[Question] The "format" is a technical radio term that has become as well known to experienced listeners as the program structure. It means that the three programs have distinctive, peculiar styles, which so far have only been partially realized, whereas their advantages and importance have been recognized already for a long time. Will the new program structure promote a clearer definition of the programs or the radio formats?

[Answer] We have again made a small step forward. We have become more conscious of the fact that the tasks of the Kossuth Radio include many kinds of more demanding educational material, whereas the Petofi Radio program should apply itself more strongly to forms that are indirectly political and that spread culture. We can be least satisfied with Program Three: so few people listen to it, that the whole concept of the program needs to be thoroughly examined, debated and transformed. But the combined activity of the three programs already promises that when the new structure is introduced, harmony among them will improve and program selections will increase. It will promote a strengthening of timeliness, a quicker response to political and artistic events in every field.

Speaking of timeliness, I would especially like to mention the fact that our broadcast system -- which the listener up to now could not easily figure out -- will become clearer in the new program structure. On the Kossuth Radio --leaving the program "Jo reggelt" [Good morning] untouched -- we will broadcast news every even hour between 8 am and 10 pm. (except that at 6 pm. and 8 pm there will not be this kind of broadcast, though one of them will be compensated for with "Esti magazin" [Evening Magazine], which will be heard at the same time as before, whereas on the Petofi Radio our news will appear every odd hour after 8 am. A new item on Program Three will be the news broadcast on weekdays at 9 am., which will be followed by similar programs at 1 pm., 7 pm., and 11:30 pm.

[Question] An old Latin proverb says that repetition is the mother of knowledge. But radio listeners are not pupils, so radio programs should not be repeated on that basis. A much better reason is that with a single transmission it is not possible to satisfy all wishes, since even at times with greatest audiences, not everyone is near a receiver or listening to a particular wave-length. And it is also necessary to repeat because listeners do not give complete attention, and a radio program cannot be played back. For this reason every radio station in the world repeats, the "big" radios even more than we do. Our practice of repeating also needs to be examined, our experience shows.

[Answer] The listener have been able to witness the experiments we have been making on Saturday mornings in recent weeks: we are trying out various forms and variations of repetition. Because besides simply rerunning a certain program on another day or another time of day, it is possible -- though not done often enough -- to have repetition by extracting the most important, most interesting components and parts of programs that have already been run and making out of them a new program. The experimentation is continuing, therefore, and we will introduce its results -- at least in part -- along with the change in structure.

[Question] The listener also could witness some other experimenting. During one week in the spring, every weekday morning there appeared "Napkozben." For 4 hours the Petofi Radio gave out words -- a little too many words -- and matters of everyday interest, important, useful information.

[Answer] This experiment has already had its results: Starting 1 October, Monday through Friday, a new Napkozben will be heard -- not for four hours, but 3 -- with far fewer subjects and much more music. Another result of the experiments is that the Friday and Saturday "Melodiakoktel" [Melody Cocktail] will move to the Petofi Radio, strengthening its individual character. The place for variety programs has also been established: Monday's cabaret show will be repeated the following Sunday morning, and the Karinthy Theater will appear on Saturday.

[Question] Since we have mentioned new programs, let's not forget about one significant undertaking, the "Kulturalis magazin." Though we understand that this is just a "working title" so far.

[Answer] This new program, which is produced by the educational-political section, will appear Sunday -- every Sunday -- probably between 11 am and 12 noon. The musical department and the literary department will also be cooperating in it. We will provide every possibility so that this will become one of the most significant and most listened-to Sunday programs.

[Question] We could also mention the "eternal" problems of Monday evenings: the radio wants to put everything into the television-free day, and thus the program is often too full and heavy at these times. We hope the new program structure will bring a change in this too. The structure of news broadcasts has also changed somewhat -- they are trying to make good the

old wish that different news forms and reception will help the Kossuth and Petofi Radios achieve individual styles -- and there will be many other changes, about which we will ask those participating in their direction in greater detail in future weeks under the heading "program production." Now we would just like to hear about one change that really represents a new era in radio: the "non-stop" Petofi.

[Answer] On 1 October we too will be added to the list of radios that speak every hour of the day. So the four-hour program break will end. Those who work nights -- in the kind of job where one can listen to the radio, who are on duty, traveling, or who just can't sleep, will be able to receive a program throughout the night and early morning -- on the UH frequencies. It will be mostly music, entertaining music appropriate to the time of day. According to our plans this will only be interrupted by news broadcasts, at 1 am and 3 am. This too is a kind of service beyond concrete programming perhaps, because it is good for a person to know that even at night he is not alone; just a click, and our radio speaks to him and for him.

9611

CSO: 2500/613

## PREPARATIONS FOR PARTY CONGRESS COMMENCE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Anna Pawlowska]

[Text] Soon the time will come to begin preparations for the 10th Party Congress, even though the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress will surely long remain a reference point in programmatic and organizational party activities. The analysis of the execution of its decisions and self-verification of fidelity to its line are constant companions of organizations and echelons. An important role in this was played by the National Conference of Delegates [KKD], which was held one-half year ago.

After the conference the tasks resulting from its proceedings were elaborated and individual answers were given to all those who placed motions, and on 3 October 1984 the Central Committee Intraparty Commission considered a document entitled "The Synthesis of Key Problems Resulting from the National Conference of PZPR Delegates for Party Work and Governmental and Economic Administration." The debates of the commission were presided over by its deputy chairman, candidate member and secretary of Central Committee Politburo, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak. The document was recommended by the deputy director of the Organizational Department, Ryszard Czerwinski.

It is worthwhile calling to mind that during the KKD there were put forward in the course of plenary debates, in panel work and statements entered into the record over 3,200 motions.

From all these opinions and postulates, not at all unanimous and sometimes outright discordant, there was prepared in the six subject groups (party; state; economy; social policy; science, education, culture and youth; and foreign policy) a sort of diagnosis of the opinions and level of progress of work in particular directions. After a discussion the commission decided to refer this elaboration to the Central Committee Secretariat with a suggestion to disseminate it throughout the party and to send it to units of the government and economic administration.

The commission members pointed out among other things that this document, which expresses differences of opinion in many matters, should become the starting point for further discussion in the party, discussion

enriched by the experiences that accumulate every month. It was also stressed that it is further evidence of changes in the style of work of the party, its will, and ability of constant self-control.

The discussion, understandably, was focused in the first place on intraparty problems. Among other things, the need to give more importance to the work of party members in mass organizations (including very critically their activity in the trade unions), party attitudes of the managerial and supervisory staff in industry, aid to small POP's [primary party organizations], and the problems of the expansion of party membership were discussed. However, there was no lack of opinions related to the economic reform (first of all concerning its low efficiency in the investment area), the upbringing situation among youth, and relations between the state and church.

The course of the discussion confirmed the connection of the work of the Central Committee (plenary sessions), activities of the problem commissions, efforts of the apparatus with proposals of the National Conference. It was also pointed out that the implementation of the line and specific decisions of the Ninth Congress requires--together with sufficient time--permanent, systematic control.

The following took part in the discussion: Kazimierz Rokoszewski, social activist from Warsaw; Czeslaw Borowski, foreman in the Adamow Power Plant; Arthur Kwiatkowski, farmer from Wloclawek Province; Marek Fabjan, department head in Budopol of Wroclaw; Kazimierz Pieczajko, farmer from Legnica Province; Janusz Kubasiewicz, first secretary of the Provincial Committee in Skierniewice; Adam Juszczyk, foreman in the Sugar Refinery in Kleczewo (Szczecin Province); Franciszek Banko, first secretary of the plant committee in the Barbara Chorzow Hard Coal Mine; Ryszard Kmiecak division foreman of HCP in Wagrowiec [Pila Province]; Mieczyslaw Kaminski, director of the Construction Ceramics Plant in Zamosc Province; Maciej Lubczynski, first secretary of the Provincial Committee in Kielce; Igor Lopatynski, editor-in-chief of ZYCIE PARTII; Ludwik Krasucki, deputy editor-in-chief of NOWE DROGI.

1015

CSO: 2600/39

SUPREME COURT DECISION INTERPRETED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Oct 84 p 6

[Article by K.: "Diversity of Opinion"]

[Text] In the interview printed alongside, Prof Bogdan Michalski asserted that the ruling of the Supreme Court quoted by us in the brochure is wholly at variance with article 41 of the press law. Does Dr Jan Brol, deputy minister of justice, share that view? Let us add that both gentlemen were members of the team working on the draft of the press law.

Article 41 of the press law defines, among other things, the boundaries of permitted criticism ("negative criticism") in the press of scientific or artistic works, or other creative activities of a professional or public nature. For it stipulates that such negative criticism falls under the protection of the law only if it (a) is honest, and (b) complies with the principles of community life. That is the way the boundaries of this particular type of criticism were defined earlier under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and this rule constitutes the sanction of that line as socially sound and reasonable. It is also expressed as severely in the opinion of the Supreme Court of September 1968. Let us recall its point of departure: "Socialist principles of community life dictate the preservation of respect for every person and consideration of his sense of personal dignity, personal worth, and social usefulness. Thus criticism of someone's behavior, views, or activities should not transgress boundaries essential to the achievement of the social goal of criticism."

This opinion of the Supreme Court, in my opinion, fully retains its topicality under the rule of article 41 of the press law, as expressing the correct direction of criticism, or the criticism of which we are speaking violates the principles of community life.

A separate question, on the other hand, is the soundness of the conclusions which the Supreme Court extrapolated from this view while deciding about legal protection against the background of the present actual state of the situation. The Supreme Court recognized that the defence had not transgressed the boundaries of permitted criticism with the assertion that the prosecution "is the most harmful critic in Poland in the sphere of

music" and similar expressions. The court cited many arguments which in the closing evaluation made possible the decision that the prosecution acted within permitted boundaries. In the literature of civil law the decision itself has met with quite widespread criticism. What is being questioned is above all the legitimacy of the Supreme Court's view that environmental practices concerning the manifestation of criticism can influence the criticism of the illegality of critical activities. "It is impossible to agree," maintains Prof A. Szpunar in his monograph "The Protection of Personal Rights," "with the Supreme Court statement that practices in the musical community would permit a particularly sharp form of criticism. One cannot accept practices common to any community if they are inappropriate. There always has to be a commensurability between the means of criticism and its intentional goal." "I share that opinion. One must add, however, that the Supreme Court also adduced other arguments which denied the plaintiff protection, among them the fact that this was a polemical article, 'and with such criticism, certain exaggerations are normal and recognized as characteristic,' as the Supreme Court declared."

So we have entered far into problems connected with criticism, whether criticism is consistent with "the principles of community life." Against the background of the criticism of particular actual conditions related to criticism, this was a controversial topic before the press law came into being and undoubtedly it remains so currently, while the law is in effect. For "the principles of community life" is a general proviso, expressing the duty of behaving in accordance with moral rules relating to customs. So it is difficult to exclude differences in criticism. An analysis of other decisions by the Supreme Court concerning permitted criticism points rather to tendencies toward a relatively broad definition of its boundaries as far as principles of community life are concerned. Whether they will be restricted at present, future short jurisdiction will show. In any case, the press law, and especially article 41, does not directly draw up such instructions. For such is not the goal of that law. I believe, however, that the topic deserves a broader exchange of opinions.

Article 41. The publication of statements, which are honest and consistent with the truth, from the open sessions of the Sejm and the people's councils, as well as their organs, and also the publication of honest negative criticism, which is consistent with the principles of community life, of scientific or artistic works or of other creative activities of a professional or public nature, serves as the fulfillment of tasks specified in Article 1 and remains under the protection of the law; this rule duly applies to satire and caricature.

Article 6. 1. The press has the right to communicate and criticize all negative phenomena within the boundaries defined by law and the principles of community life. The press, in taking advantage of this law, strives for a veracious representation of the phenomena in question, guided by the interests of the society and the socialist state as well as by compliance

with and preservation of civic laws and duties.

2. State organs, state enterprises, and other state organizational entities as well as cooperative organizations are obliged to give a response to the press criticism directed at them without needless delay, no later than within a month.

3. The rule of paragraph 2 duly applies to trade unions, municipal organizations and other community organizations in the sphere of public activities conducted by them.

4. It is prohibited to hinder the press from collecting critical materials or to suppress criticism in any other way.

12584

CSO: 2600/48

## WORKER-PEASANT INSPECTORATE EXPERIMENT

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Oct 84 p 5

[Article by (szan): "Experiment in Seven Provinces"]

[Text] The idea of a worker-peasant inspectorate, which was discussed at the 16th Central Committee Plenum in Lodz, is taking on a realistic shape. In order to gather information which would test the validity of the accepted assumptions and concepts, the worker-peasant inspectorate will conduct its activity, as an experiment, during a period of 2 months, October-November, in seven provinces: Bielsko-Biala, Chelm, Krosno, Legnica, Plock, Radom and Zamosc.

The inspectorates will have the right to control regional organs of state administration, other organizational units, enterprises, work establishments and institutions operating in the area of a given people's council. The legal extent of control is defined by the rights of peoples councils. In the case of finding glaring irregularities, further control activity will be carried out by specialized organs. The worker-peasant inspectors are to be assisted by professional inspectors. The principles of control assume two forms: immediate--carried out in the case of receiving signals, substantiated grievances or information from the mass media; and concentrated--control or supervision based on being conducted concurrently by all supervisory teams.

One of the provinces which is organizing these kinds of inspectorates is Radom. The resolution of the Provincial People's Council [WRN] in Radom of 25 September of this year states that worker-peasant inspectorates will function alongside the City People's Council [MRN] in Radom and the MRN in Pionki, alongside the city and gmina people's councils in Grojec and Szydlowiec and alongside six gmina councils. The coordination of the inspectorate's activity is handled by a 17-member temporary WRN commission. Assistance in conducting the experiment was requested of the governor, the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] delegate representation, the public prosecutor's office and the WUSW [Provincial Internal Affairs Office] in Radom.

The worker-peasant inspectorate which functions alongside the MRN in Radom is made up of 30 persons--28 workers and 2 farmers.

We must wait until the end of November for the effects of the inspectorate's activity. The results will be submitted to the PZPR Central Committee and decisions will be made with regard to the continuation and the forms of this control based on the evaluation of the experiment.

9853

CSO: 2600/52

## BRIEFS

**MILEWSKI TOURS FACTORY**--The implementation of socialist law and order and issues concerning the political effects of amnesty were among the topics of the meeting which took place in the J. Pietrusinski Wool Plants in Zgierz between Mirosław Milewski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee as well as chairman of the PZPR Central Committee's Commission for Law and Order, and the city's sociopolitical aktiv. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Oct 84 p 2] 9853

**SIWAK IN BIELSKO-BIALA**--The plenary session of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Bielsko-Biala was devoted to the solution of problems contained in letters and grievances addressed to party organizations and echelons and to institutions and agencies on the local and provincial level. Albin Siwak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, took part in the deliberations. In his presentation, he stressed the necessity of abiding by Leninist norms in party activity and that of the socialist state. That same day, Albin Siwak met with the representatives of union organizations which function in larger work establishments in Bielsko-Biala Province. Problems pertaining to the development and activity of the union movement in this region and issues involving the shaping of the national union structures were raised. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Oct 84 p 2] 9853

**PZPR INTERNAL AFFAIRS MEETING**--A meeting of the Internal Affairs Commission of the PZPR Central Committee was held under the chairmanship of the Politburo deputy member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Włodzimierz Mokrzyński. Material prepared by Central Committee departments, which constitutes a synthesis of the problems contained in more than 3,000 proposals submitted by the participants of the National Conference of PZPR Delegates and in 583 comments made during deliberations of the conference's task forces, was discussed. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Oct 84 p 2] 9853

**MILITARY SPONSORS CULTURE SYMPOSIUM**--A symposium was held in Warsaw on culture and educational upbringing organized by the MON [Ministry of National Defense] Council for Social Studies by the Institute of Culture of the Ministry of Culture and Art and by Feliks Dzierżyński Military Political Academy. Distinguished contributors to cultural creativity,

representatives from the field of education and organizers of cultural life representing both the civilian community and the military took part in the symposium. The deliberations were led by the deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army, General of Arms Jozef Baryla. During the symposium, the chairman of the National Cultural Council, Prof Bogdan Suchodolski, presented a paper entitled "Prospects of Cultural Education." The following took part in the symposium: chairman of the Cultural Department of the PZPR Central Committee, Witold Nawrocki, and the minister of education and upbringing, Boleslaw Faron. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Oct 84 p 2] 9853

MILITARY PROSECUTORS CONFER--Between the 17 and 20 September, an ideological-training conference for provincial prosecutors and for prosecutors from military districts and from various forms of the armed forces was held. Members of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski and Deputy Premier Zbigniew Messner, as well as the director of the Administrative Department of the Central Committee, Michal Atlas, and the deputy director of the office of the Central Party Control Commission, Wlodzimierz Sak, met with the participants of the conference and presented information about the current problems of ideological work and about the sociopolitical and economic situation of the country. The participants of the conference, which was presided over by the prosecutor general of the PRL, Jozef Zyto, also heard information presented by the deputy minister for internal affairs, Division General Wladyslaw Ciaston, and by the representative of the National Defense Committee. During the course of deliberations, the entire scope of the work of the PRL Prosecutor's Office was assessed and, in particular, the extent to which the program of activity for 1984 has been carried out. In emphasizing the progress made in the implementation of the program, the prosecutor general of the PRL obligated his subordinate prosecutors to take further steps to improve the methods of prosecuting and preventing crime, other forms of breaking the law and combating occurrences of social pathology. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22-23 Sep 84 p 2] 9853

MILEWSKI COMMISSION MEETING--Key problems pertaining to the effort to build a stronger state, promote socialist democracy, and consolidate law, order, and civic discipline were the topics of discussion at a meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Law and Order Commission held on 6 October. These issues will be debated at the 17th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The great importance of these issues and their impact on progress toward the socialist renewal of public life, the growth of the national economy, and the strengthening of Poland's position in the international community figured prominently in the decision to place these issues on the agenda of the 17th Plenum. During the commission meeting, which was chaired by Miroslaw Milewski, Politburo member and secretary to the PZPR Central Committee, a report was also presented on the implementation of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo ruling issued in February 1984 on compliance with the law and the consolidation of law and order. The commission was also briefed on the draft law on the Prosecutor's Office of the PPR. In connection with observances of the 40th anniversary of the creation of the Citizens Militia and the Security Service the commission expressed its respect and appreciation for the work and achievements of all officers and officials in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Expressions of respect and appreciation were also directed--on the eve of their holiday--to soldiers of the people's Polish Armed Forces. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Oct 84 p 2]

# DEVELOPMENT OF MILITARY MEDICINE REVIEWED

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 3, Jul-Sep 84 pp 215-220

[Article by Col Dr Mircea Diaconescu: "Romanian Military Medicine at the Affirmation Point"]

[Text] As a crowning moment in the millenia-long struggle for the defense of national existence and for independence and sovereignty, the victory of the social and national, antifascist and anti-imperialist liberation revolution marked an epochal point in the history of Romania. A new era began in the life of the nation, which - as pointed out by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu - committed itself with all its forces to "...the path of the great revolutionary changes in our country, to the transfer of political power into the hands of the working class in alliance with the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the other progressive forces and to the transformation of our people into a people who are masters of their destiny, the knowing builders of socialism and the free creators of their own communist future."

Romania's new history, beginning on 23 August 1944, has proved the creative manner in which the Romanian Communist Party has applied scientific concepts to specific conditions regarding the role of the working class and the need for its unity of action, the alliances with other social classes and groups, the correlation between objective conditions and subjective factors, and the need to attract the army into people's struggle to serve the supreme interests of national liberty and independence. During the 4 decades which have passed, and especially during the period since the Ninth Party Congress - a stage marked by a strong, renewing and dynamic breath of air and by way of unprecedented, impressive achievements -, Romania has passed through an entire historical period in the development of the forces of production, the improvement of social relationships, the construction of a dynamic economy that is in the process of a complete advance, the progress of science, education, culture and training, and the continuing growth of the people's standard of living. Currently, all of our people, closely united around the party and its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are fully committed to the heroic work to fulfill the decisions of the 12th Congress and the National Party Conference for moving the country to a new stage of development and advancing it towards communism.

In such a general context of great achievements, Romanian military medicine, being integrated into the overall group of improvements made to all spheres of scientific

activity at the national level, including those in the army, over the 40 years since liberation has experienced a powerful development. Fully at the service of protecting the health of military personnel, military medicine currently has a prestigious corps of specialized personnel trained during the years of socialism and an appropriate, competitive material equipment basis that has been created, for the most part, by our own national industry. These are factors which ensure carrying out an efficient medical-health activity for preventing and combating the causes of illnesses and achieving the specialized scientific research at the highest level.

The medical network in the army has been expanded and modernized from year to year through the construction of new hospitals, polyclinics and unit infirmaries, the growth in the number of beds and supply of medical equipment, devices and diagnostic and treatment equipment that are among the most modern, and the provision of new health-care vehicles, special vehicles, mobile laboratories and other means of medical transport. During this period rich in deeds and achievements, we saw the construction of the Center for Aeronautical Medicine, the Army Center for Hematology, a new 700-bed surgery center, another medical center, a balneary-physical therapy section in the Central Military Hospital, new wings to certain military hospitals throughout the country and new construction at the Military Medicine Department. Construction is currently underway to build a center for nuclear medicine needed for the operation of a cobalt medical device, a center equipped with devices at the level of the newest advances of science and technology.

The successes attained in the 40 years of socialist revolution and construction in raising the quality of care for sick persons, in improving curative-preventative medical care and in competently resolving medical-surgical emergencies - with some of these being subjects of certain articles that have been published in this magazine - are due to constant efforts of the party organizations, communists, doctors, pharmacists, biologists, chemists, psychologists and nurses to introduce new things in dealing with clinical pathologies, as well as to the improvements that have been made in the areas of technology and modernization of specialized activities in full agreement with the most recent discoveries of medical science at the national and international levels.

Supplying hospital facilities in the army with modern medical devices permits the application of the newest exploratory procedures, clinical investigation and laboratory work. All this places military medicine in Romania at the forefront at the national level, making it capable of functioning in the most varied medical fields, resolving the most complex problems of public health and of dealing with medical techniques at the current level of development of medical science.

In carrying out the military policy of our party and state and the principles of national military doctrine, the medical personnel in the network of the Ministry of National Defense contribute directly to protecting the state of health of personnel in the military units by way of preventative and curative actions and medical recuperation. Enjoying the support of commanders and party

organs and organizations at all echelons, medical personnel are concerned with raising the quality of life for military personnel and effectively contributing to strengthening the defensive capabilities of units and major units, in full accordance with the requirements of the Directive of the supreme commander of the armed forces.

As a standard unit of Romanian military medicine, the Central Military Hospital has seen a constantly ascendent evolution, especially over the last 2 decades, as shown by the establishment of new sections and sectors having different medical profiles: the traumatology and orthopedics clinic with a burn sector, the neurosurgery section, the cornea transplant section - the nucleus of the current ophthalmology clinic, the anesthesia and intensive care (A.I.C.) section, the jaw and face surgery section, the cardio-vascular surgery section, the chest surgery section, the balneary-physical therapy section, the nuclear medicine laboratory, the functional exploratory laboratories, the cardio-vascular and cardiac catheter exploratory laboratory, the mental health laboratory, the psychology department and the psychic illness recuperation sector. Emergency medical care has been organized and is given in the capital for coronary victims, people who are intoxicated and family members of military personnel. A central computer office was created for the automatic processing of data in the medical field.

Paralleling this, responsible actions have been taken for the development of all military hospitals throughout the country. A.I.C. sections have been established and clinical and laboratory sections were equipped with devices at the current technical level. The outpatient medical care network was expanded and improved through the creation of dispensaries and polyclinics, with some of these integrated into military hospitals and others operating independently in various garrisons, as well as through the establishment of centralized garrison infirmaries.

In the spirit of the health policy of our party and state, special attention is being given to carrying out a varied range of preventative activities, including: long-term health programs for the more frequent illness in the army, periodic medical checks for career personnel and draftees, admission to dispensaries for persons suffering chronic illnesses, sending personnel for rest and treatment at balneo-climatic centers, preventative oncological check-ups for female personnel in the army and selection and admission to military training institutes on the basis of psycho-physiological testing.

Because of the conditions that have been created by our party and state in the 40 years of socialist construction, today, in the army's hospital units we use a broad range of clinical-functional tools (ecography, angiography, scintillagraphy, radio-immunological testing, computerized tomography and spectro-photometric, immuno-fluoresence and histopathological techniques which are in addition to polychemical-therapeutic, balneary-physical and psychotherapeutic treatments and surgery (surgery in ophthalmology, neuro-surgical areas, cardio-vascular, orthopedic, microsurgical areas, abdominal areas and jaw-facial areas)). All these are shining achievements that are part of the rising curve of scientific traditions presented by the advanced generations.

In the overall group of activities to protect the health of personnel in the army, there are also the efforts of the unit doctors that are directed towards providing certain health conditions for training, work and life for the military personnel. The decrease in the number of lost-days from work because of illness and the full and fastest possible recovery of military personnel so they can be returned to the instructional-educational process attest to the steady and competent activities.

High professional training and devotion to the medical field were proved in an exemplary manner in numerous circumstances and especially in the actions undertaken to combat and limit the effects of natural disasters - the floods in 1970 and 1975 and the earthquake of 1977. The secretary general of the party gave high marks to the activities of military doctors and to their contributions for helping the population that had been devastated.

Being part of the party's health policy for preventing illnesses and decreasing fatalities from transmittable diseases, the organization of the hygiene and epidemiology network in the army has experienced unprecedented development during the years of socialism. Within this framework, there are numerous actions for preventing and combating certain epidemic outbreaks not only within the military environment, but also among the ranks of the civilian population, in cooperation with the appropriate organs of the Ministry of Health. From this point of view, there was great significance in the establishment of the Anti-epidemic Health Center and the anti-epidemic laboratories set up alongside certain military hospitals. As specialized institutions, they have brought about a qualitative increase in epidemiological supervision actions over military personnel throughout the country, achieving a better understanding of the dangerous factors in the environment which can negatively influence the state of physical and mental health of military personnel.

Concomitantly with the continuing improvements for the curative-preventative care of military personnel, measures have been taken to improve medical-military expertise activities for an accurate evaluation of the work capacity of military personnel and the recovery of personnel who are sick or have been injured in accidents, under optimum conditions. These activities were directed with a broader perspective towards training military doctors in the county military centers by way of secondary or orientational courses from the Institute for Expertise and Recuperation of Work Capacity in Bucharest. Paralleling this action, a series of normative acts was published regarding medical-military expertise, the establishment of aptitudes regarding the fulfillment of military service, both for men and women, the medical criteria for clinical functional diagnosis and evaluation of the work capacity of active and reserve military cadres, medical-military expertise during a period of mobilization or during wartime, and so forth.

Medical-health personnel in the army work with passion and a spirit of responsibility to understand and master national military doctrine. In the spirit of the Romanian Communist Party's view regarding the defense of the country by all the

people, measures were studied and approved for providing medical care for combat troops, as well as the population, through close cooperation between the organs of military health care and those through out the country, organizing the management and material supply of all medical formations which would cooperate in the event of aggression. Activities have been carried out of a practical nature on various themes, training programs have been drawn up for the army's medical corps and reserve personnel, and REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA has started a column reserved for those problems referring to the application of the principles of national military doctrine.

In accordance with the responsibilities stemming from the Directive of the Supreme Commander, medical-military scientific research - an important facet of the activities of medical personnel in the army - have had a priority focus on the resolution of certain problems specific to military groups during peacetime, but especially during wartime. One important field of action is providing medical protection for the troops and the civilian population against the effects of weapons of mass destruction, biological, chemical and nuclear weapons. Scientific research activities have revealed new and quick methods to carry out a microbiological and virusological diagnosis in especially dangerous infectious diseases, drawing up on this basis curative and preventative schemes and treatment products, medical kits and mobile field laboratories. To an equal degree, in the area of antichemical protection there have been experimental studies on the iatrogenic effect of certain very poisonous chemical agents (organophosphoric and psychochemical agents) and methods have been drawn up for diagnosis, treatment, use of antidotes and a rapid means of administration. In combating the effects of nuclear weapons and neutron weapons, the research focused on establishing the most efficient means of diagnosis, treatment and individual and group protection, and reducing internal contamination through the use of radio-protective devices produced by the researchers.

The studies that have been carried out in the collectives of medical-military scientific researchers, as well as by certain military doctors in army hospitals and clinics, have had clear results on the applied level. In this context, we can note the activities that have been carried out within the framework of the ophthalmology clinic (where they produced ocular prostheses and cryoextraction devices), the surgical sections and the research group which operates within the orthopedic and traumatology clinic in the Central Military Hospital for the production of certain original devices for transport and immobilization in the treatment of fractures, the making of operational prostheses for amputatees and, in other military sections and hospitals, for the production of new medicines in microproduction laboratories, at the military hospitals in Iasi and Cluj-Napoca.

Special success has been obtained in the organization of conferences, seminars and symposia on current medical and paramedical subjects. There has been an increase in the participation of military doctors in symposia and congresses

both in-country and abroad which were on all occasions exchanges of experience as well as graphic evidence of the scientific activities of the military doctors.

The publication of monographs and other books of special scientific value - some recognized by way of awards of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania -, articles in the specialized press in-country and abroad, and the production of scientific films - based on reality and focused upon the optimum resolution of illnesses - represent a fruitful contribution made by military doctors in improving the legacy of Romanian medicine.

Through the pages of REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA, an organ of the Medical Directorate of the Ministry of National Defense, a good portion of the activities in Romanian military medicine is known abroad, in over 30 countries, thanks in part to the exchange of magazines carried with similar publications.

The promotion of medical personnel on the basis of exams and competitive testing, the introduction of clinical school courses, the use of specialized and upgrade training courses organized by the Ministry of Health, as well as the courses for basic doctors and specialists, have brought about the staffing of military hospitals with thoroughly trained persons. A significant number of military doctors have acquired the title of doctor docent, doctor of medical sciences, with some of them being university faculty personnel and all actively participating in the country's scientific affairs.

The establishment of the Department of Military Medicine - the new organizational form of higher medical-military education - has created the conditions for the better training of both military students and reserve doctors in the problems of field medicine.

The picture of achievements made in the field of Romanian military medicine over the course of the 40 years that have passed since the start of the social and national, antifascist and anti-imperialist liberation revolution of August 1944 has been possible thanks to the conditions which the party and state leadership created for the army's Medical Service and for the army as a pivotal point of the system of national defense. The anniversary of 4 decades since this memorable event in the history of our people, associated with the coming of another moment of profound political significance - the 13th Congress of the RCP -, represents an opportunity for a powerful commitment of all medical-health personnel in the Romanian Army to obtain new successes in the complex activity of ensuring the health of our military, an important contribution to raising the defense capacity of our dear country - the Socialist Republic of Romania.

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## ACHIEVEMENTS OF AERONAUTICAL MEDICINE CENTER

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 3, Jul-Sep 84 pp 267-270

[Article by Dr Col Maurica Stoian: "The Center of Aeronautical Medicine. Evolution and Achievements"]

[Text] The Bucharest Center of Aeronautical Medicine - a representative group of Romanian aeronautical medicine - has experienced especially strong development over the last 4 decades, even though it has a tradition of nearly 65 years.

Benefiting from qualified personnel and a modern material base, the Center of Aeronautical Medicine is carrying out both a rich practical activity in the selection and medical-psychological review of all aeronautical personnel in the country, and a sustained scientific research activity covering nearly all the areas of concern in aeronautical medicine and psychology.

The Center of Aeronautical Medicine has carried out the medical and psychological selection of the first Romanian cosmonauts and has drawn up studies on space medicine and psychology under conditions of orbital flight.

Through its contributions to the development of aviation in the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Center of Aeronautical Medicine once again represents one of the achievements of the socialist era of our country.

### Aeronautical Medicine

As a relatively recent specialty, aeronautical medicine in our country has fully benefited from the conditions that have been created in the new, socialist era of Romania, an era opened by the social and national, antifascist and anti-imperialist liberation revolution of 23 August 1944.

Although it has a tradition of nearly 65 years, the Center of Aeronautical Medicine has experienced a true recognition as a representative group and as a methodological forum for Romanian aeronautical medicine during the years of socialism, marking an ascendent, spectacular evolution over the last 20 years, since the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

Having experienced a period of decline after the second world war, Romanian aeronautical medicine made giant steps concomitantly with the progress recorded

by our military and civilian aeronautics sector due to the policy of our party and state for the harmonious development of all the branches of the national economy and all the areas of social affairs.

Benefiting from a modern material base, including an appropriate place and medical and medical-aeronautical devices at the level of the latest achievements in the world, the Center of Aeronautical Medicine is carrying out - concomitantly with the detailed medical selection of candidates for aviation schools - periodic medical testing of flight personnel capabilities and a sustained research activity into the actions of flight factors upon the human organism and a drawing up or adaptation of certain new methods of physiological and psychological investigation for the purpose of improving medical-aeronautical expertise.

Currently, medical-aeronautical expertise activities are being carried out on the basis of certain new, modern and profoundly scientific concepts, seeking to bring about the fullest possible agreement between the physical and psychological capabilities of the pilot and the requirements specific to the activities that he will carry out onboard the aircraft. The aspects of medical-aeronautical expertise are dealt with in an individualized manner, a principle which ensures the most accurate setting of flight aptitudes, with direct implications in ensuring flight safety.

Alongside the offices of diverse medical specialties, new sections and laboratories were created in the Center of Aeronautical Medicine, such as those for functional medical-aeronautical investigation and specialized training, aeronautical hygiene and flight event analysis.

In the field of paraclinical investigations, if in 1960 two such functional investigations were being carried out, today their number exceeds 50, a fact which permits looking into many affections in the preclinical stage. Throughout these years, these have been adapted to meet the requirements of medical-aeronautical expertise investigations in the areas of dynamic (Holter Method) electrocardiography, reography, infrared telethermography, ecography, electronistagmography and so forth, and new, original techniques of investigation have been introduced that are specific to medical-aeronautical investigation.

The creation of a modern psychological laboratory today permits in both the selection and periodic review of military and civilian flight personnel the use of a rich range of tests, including methods of so-called experimental psychology, psycho-physiological testing and methods of clinical psychology - on the basis of which it is pursuing determining the level of different psychological traits, dealing, at the same time, with the individual characteristics posited against the psychological requirements of flight activities.

The improved use of computers ensures both the opportunity to use a large number of tests and an increase in the quality of interpreting the results.

Numerous pieces of equipment and devices are original, designed in-country, with a contribution from the experience and inventiveness of the specialists who are employed within the Center of Aeronautical Medicine.

Scientific research activities involved nearly the entire area of concerns of aeronautical medicine and psychology.

During the years of socialism, the Center of Aeronautical Medicine drew up over 500 scientific works, studies and research reports that were reported on or published at home and abroad. Papers and monographs were published covering problems of aeronautical medicine and psychology.

In addition to the existing concerns for the improvement of medical expertise and medical care in military aviation and civil transport aviation, our unit gave special attention to medical care for flight personnel working in the utility aviation sector. The studies that have been made to understand the effects of substances used by utility aviation in agriculture upon flight personnel and the studies on ergonomics, initiated by the Center of Aeronautical Medicine or carried out at the request of the aeronautical industry, have constituted direct contributions to the achievement of certain tasks in different fields of the national economy. The specialists in the Center of Aeronautical Medicine have actively participated in the in-country achievement of devices for the protection and rescue of flight personnel.

The knowledge and scientific-professional horizons of the personnel in the Center of Aeronautical Medicine have been broadened considerably by way of an active participation in over 90 domestic and international scientific events - occasions during which they experienced a useful exchange of experiences with specialists from Romanian medical institutes and from the field of aerospace medicine in other countries. During this period, a series of specialists from the Center of Aeronautical Medicine and air force units acquired the title of doctor of science - in the fields of aeronautical medicine and psychology - thus contributing to a better knowledge of certain theoretical and practical aspects and to a growth of the prestige of Romanian medicine and psychology, both at home and abroad. This is also attested to by the exchanges of experience requested and made by specialists from other countries in the laboratories of the Center of Aeronautical Medicine.

We must give special stress to the fact that the medical selection of the first Romanian cosmonauts was done by the Center of Aeronautical Medicine, which once again showed the quality of the work carried out by our specialists and their broad possibilities for dealing with all the problems of interest to aerospace medicine and psychology.

On the occasion of the joint Romanian-Soviet flight, doctors and psychologists in the Center of Aeronautical Medicine participated in carrying out certain medical-biological experiments, such as the "Reo" and "INFORMATIA" experiments. These were studies which furnished new data referring to the behavior of the cosmonauts' bodies during orbital flight and whose results are in current use in the Center of Aeronautical Medicine.

The achievements obtained by the Center of Aeronautical Medicine has also been favorably reflected in the quality of medical care for flight personnel at the air force unit level and in the level of medical care for flights, and implicitly upon the safety of flights.

Certainly, the current status of achievements of the Center of Aeronautical Medicine represents merely a stage along the path of developing Romanian aerospace medicine and the contribution which this institution is making to the continued strengthening of our country's defense capabilities, to the development of air transportation and to the growth of utility aviation efficiency.

Within the Center of Aeronautical Medicine all of the conditions have been created for the successful continuation of the good existing traditions and for the raising of Romanian aerospace medicine and psychology to new heights.

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## VIDIC DISCUSSES 14TH LCY CC PLENUM IN NIS SPEECH

LD261310 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0135 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Nis, 26 Oct (TANJUG)--On the occasion of the centenary of Masinska Industrija Nis, which was celebrated here today, Dobrivoje Vidic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, congratulated its collective on its successful development. Stressing that Masinska Industrija Nis has developed through the process of association to become one of Serbia's most important work collectives and occupy a very prominent place in the economy of the whole country, Vidic particularly underlined the importance of the collective's reliance on the skill and ability of its own working people as the basis of its own program of economic stabilization and development policy.

Praise is due, Vidic went on, to your working people for their active participation in the development of the system of socialist self-management both in your composite organization of associated labor and in your town and for their active participation in political life and numerous other activities which characterize your work efforts.

Despite the fact that we have striven for more than 30 years to develop the system of socialist self-management, it was judged in the long-term program of economic stabilization, Vidic went on, that self-management is nevertheless lagging behind in development, that its scope has been restricted by the strengthening of statism, technocratism, and all the forms of administrative activity. These serious obstacles can only be overcome and eliminated through organized action by the LCY and by the whole of society. In doing so we should fully reaffirm the program orientations of the LCY and the norms set by the constitution and the law on associated labor.

When we speak about this we speak about one of the most vital features of Yugoslav socialist social development. Paving the way to further successful development in this field calls for the adoption of all the necessary measures in the political and practical struggle to increase income by improving the quality of one's own economic activity and easing the pressure imposed on the economy by everything that has become alienated from it and is not based on sound socially justified accords.

However, we cannot speak about this and yet fail at the same time, as a socialist community, to close all the avenues still open in our country to people who try and in fact manage and have for a long time now managed to live and grow rich without doing any socially recognized work.

Can we now resolutely set ourselves the task of really putting an end to enrichment without socially recognized work results and decisively preventing corruption, bribes, and other antisocialist phenomena in our country? I would say that we must do so! The resolute struggle for the realization of the long-term program of economic stabilization should vitally assist us in ensuring that our society will develop on the basis of the original views on the character of socialism and social relations in it, as specified in our program orientations.

Despite all the economic difficulties which we are experiencing--the whole world, in fact, including the most highly developed countries, is in a period of crisis and is experiencing serious difficulties--it is actually the system of socialist self-management, whatever its shortcomings, which is helping us more than anything else to overcome these difficulties. However, difficulties are difficulties. They are here to be seen by all, by us and by our friends and foes alike. One has to be blind not to see that the reactionary circles in the West and their instruments and servants, and in particular enemy emigration seek to exploit our difficulties. More and more frequently we are also exposed to organized propaganda and other forms of pressure whose aim is to divert us from our path of socialist self-management. The fact that these circles are not even more aggressive can most likely be attributed to the policy of those governments which strive to make an objective assessment of the balance of power and, in particular, of their own interests in interbloc confrontations. From time to time important statements are also made on our partners' interest in the preservation of the SFRY's full independence. However nice as it is that they should all want us to enjoy such independence--and it is good that this should be so--it is ridiculous at the same time that anyone should believe that we are guarding our independence just in order to prevent anybody else's balance of power being upset. The sources of our independence are primarily to be found in our will as the nations and nationalities of the SFRY and as a socialist society to be free members of the international community. This is the guarantee of freedom for all of our future generations.

It goes without saying that every objective assessment of our conditions and our development and the level of the development of self-management in our country and our socialist democracy is acceptable if it really is objective and if it is based on the fundamental achievements of our struggle for national liberation and our socialist revolution.

We consequently consider that the debate in the LCY and in our society on the draft conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session and also on the implementation of the conclusions of the 14th LCY Central Committee session held a few days ago should yield the necessary proposals on how to overcome republican, municipal, and similar isolationism successfully,

achieve concrete accords on the SFRY's development policy, ensure the full functioning of the unified Yugoslav market on the basis of economic laws to which no one may adopt a voluntarist attitude, find solutions to foreign exchange problems, foreign exchange market, and so forth.

I believe, Vidic went on, that the debate on the draft conclusions of the 13th session and experience with regard to the attitudes of the 14th session of the LCY Central Committee will place all the factors of decisionmaking in our great system of socialist self-management in a position in which they will have to break down all the resistance in their environments in order to ensure the successful implementation of the main current tasks of our revolution and in particular the long-term program of economic stabilization.

It is more than obvious that the resistance offered in the federation, in the socialist republics, and in the socialist autonomous provinces by statist particularism to the further development of self-management and thus to the full and successful development of the SFRY as a whole has to be broken down. There is no one, Vidic emphasized, especially in our circumstances, whose responsibility should be played down, but the responsibility borne by everyone else should also be stressed.

In connection with the polemics at the 14th LCY Central Committee session, Vidic went on, which has particularly attracted the attention of the public, I wish to say the following: Instead of accepting polemics as something quite normal and as a natural part of our work and our efforts to carry out our tasks, some of our people see them either as a reflection of irreparable disunity manifesting itself even in the highest forums of the LCY or as some kind of curiosity, a real novelty. Well, I can tell you that this is the way we regularly discuss things at LCY Central Committee Presidium sessions. What we have been doing for 2 years now inside the LCY Central Committee Presidium has now taken place in public and everybody is excited. When this does not happen people shout: "There is no democracy." Now that this "democracy" has made an appearance we ask ourselves: "Where has this democracy suddenly come from?" and so forth. Finding ways to carry out all of our society's tasks through free debate and confrontation of views should be the natural style of our work. It goes without saying that I do not mean arguments and vulgar polemics, but real debate and rational polemics which are aimed at a specific result beneficial to our country. Crucial issues may even be discussed in a sharp manner at times, as long as one bears everybody's dignity in mind and remembers the total and ultimate effect which is known as unity of action in the struggle for the goals of our more rapid development.

In connection with the lively discussions about the political system, no question can even be asked about any such changes in the political system which would call into question the basic strategic course of the present and future development of socialist self-management and the consolidation of the SFRY and of all of its republics and provinces, Vidic stressed. What we are having a dispute about and what we should have a dispute about is how to promote the effectiveness of the system of socialist self-management, how to ensure full unity amid the diversities which are natural

in multinational Yugoslavia, how and in what way to enrich socialist democracy, and how to genuinely democratize our cadre policy in all fields in order to establish rational and coherent ties between generations in the struggle for the further progress of our country.

After stressing that the idea of Yugoslavism and the ideals of brotherhood and unity have deep roots in the history of the peoples of Yugoslavia, Vidic went on:

Our people hold the enemies of socialism in contempt. They reject the enemies of the SFRY. Whatever the extent of our difficulties, our working people are doing all they can to overcome these difficulties and ensure further successful development on the basis of the long-term program of economic stabilization. For this we need mutual trust, the kind of development in prosperity which we can only ensure by means of productive work, and peaceful conditions which we, being a progressive country, champion wholeheartedly and everywhere.

Dobrivoje Vidic said at the end that the LCY Central Committee would examine all the proposals resulting from the great debate now in progress in the LCY and in our society on the draft conclusions of the 13th session, but that at the same time we should keep resolving our present-day problems by means of intensified high-quality work everywhere, free and resolute criticism and self-criticism, opening up of new prospects, and cultivation of the kind of healthy optimism which was a characteristic of our revolution and of its cadres in all the difficult and crucial stages of our development.

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## INCIDENT OF YOUTHS SINGING USTASHA SONGS EXAMINED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 23 Sep 84 p 4

[Article: "Song of the Black Ghost"]

[Text] "We are sure that the majority of the young men from Duvno are honest and properly oriented, that is, that they are ready to fight resolutely with us against all negative elements and are willing to prevent any dishonorable act" said the secretary of the presidium of the League of Communists town committee in Duvno, Stjepan Stipic, talking about the recent hostile attack of a group of youths called "Brisnik Case." What kind of a case was that? It happened in the night of 31 July-1 August this year in the Duvno village of Donji Brisnik. That day--said the statement presented yesterday by the League of Communists' town committee in cooperation with other social and political organizations in town--in the house of Jozo Pranjic, on the occasion of departure to serve in the Yugoslav National Army [JNA] of his son Dragan, several people sang songs with enemy content and those songs were sung later by the celebrating youth through the village.

In the proceedings instituted it was established that at the sendoff for Dragan Pranjic into JNA, there were about 60 people and that the songs sung were of fascist, ustasha, nationalistic and religious content. "The singers" in their black nationalistic orgy did not shrink even from smearing Tito's name. Singing the national hymn "Lijepa nasa" [Our beautiful country], all present stood up with raised arms at attention and some shouted also the fascist greeting "Heil Hitler".

The statement about nationalistic barbarism in Donji Brisnik contains the names of 18 youths who initiated and participated in singing enemy songs that night in the house of Jozo Pranjic. Of those 18, the town judge sentenced nine to prison terms of 60 days for misdemeanors. Legal proceedings are still being conducted against five more. All those convicted were born between 1961 and 1966, and among them are Ante Belic and Slobodan Prljevic, students of All-National Defense and Social Self-protection on the School of Political Sciences in Zagreb who are also members of LCY. Besides these 2, of the above mentioned 18, 2 are students of the College of Natural Sciences and Mathematics in Sarajevo, 1 is a student of the Teacher's College in Sarajevo, 3 are students of the secondary school center in Duvno, 8 are unemployed secondary school graduates, 1 is a private driver and 1 is presently visiting his relatives, but lives otherwise with parents in Australia.

## Not First Time

The enemy incident in Donji Brisnik was first talked about around Duvno, on the streets and in coffee houses, following which there was OSUP action on 11 August after which the instigators of the Brisnik Case were arrested. The OSUP secretary states that the arrest of youths caused enough excitement in the town, although there were no incidents.

In the course of the inquiry and trial, all the youths arrested behaved correctly are repented what they did. They also admitted their part of responsibility, but none of them could or wanted to say who started singing the enemy songs. All of them, admitting their guilt, accepted the punishment and were sent to serve their sentence in Mostar Prison, stated the town court judge for misdemeanors, Stojan Susilovic.

Incidentally, as is also mentioned in the statement about the enemy incident in Donji Brisnik, this is not the first time that such enemy actions have occurred on the territory of the Duvno municipality. In recent years, several such cases were noted. The instances were mentioned of ripping down Tito's picture by some elementary school students in Bukovica, burning of the flag during Workers' Sports Games the year before last, drawing of swastikas in the secondary school center, as well as the singing of enemy songs by a group of youths from Vedasic. In the statement from the town committee of the SKH Duvno and other social-political organizations, it is mentioned that a serious question should be asked why and who is working with our youth and children, and who is trying to gather them around the dark policies of ustasha, Pavelic and other enemies of the people and of this country.

The large majority of the working people, youth and residents of Duvno follow the SKJ policy line, creatively incorporated into building socialism and self-management for the well-being of our entire social community, but--said in the statement--the actions of individuals or groups who do not carry in their hearts this vision of Yugoslavia should not be forgotten nor underestimated. They are trying in all possible ways to disparage the enormous results and efforts of our socioeconomic and material development.

It was further stated that the activities of organized social forces to clarify the negative occurrences must first identify and unmask those who are trying to seduce youth and children, pushing them deliberately into enemy work, while portraying themselves as loyal citizens. Neither should the fact be overlooked that some priests in the Duvno region, especially of the Catholic Church, are openly attempting to manipulate the religious feelings of citizens, particularly youth. Constitutionally guaranteed freedom of religion is often abused by some priests, the adherents of clericalism and by clerical nationalists who are openly trying to create dissension between believers and atheists.

## Who Rhymes Those Songs?

The most extreme among the priests are brothers Jozo Zovko, Jozo Krizic and Ante Perkovic, said the statement on the incident of the youth group. These two priests together with the former prior of the Duvno monastery, Ferdo Vlasic,

have been tried and have served time in prison. In the opinion of responsible persons in Duvno, this case as well as the whole string of earlier acts is the well thought-out work of the top clergy who consider the Duvno area suitable for enemy activity, so that it is not at all by chance that a great number of convicted priests obtain employment precisely in the churches within the town of Duvno. It is also certain that the church takes advantage of weak or almost nonexistent work by youth and other social-political organizations.

The president of the town committee of the Federation of Socialist Youth in Duvno, Bojan Kozica, told us that there has been no youth organization in Brisnik for several years, although in that village there are more than 300 youths. The cause, according to the youth organization, is lack of space, while the church takes advantage and lets no opportunity go by to bring together the youth from Brisnik.

In Brisnik, which is only 10 kilometers away from Duvno, live some 1,000 people. The village has a modern paved road, a water system, a new school, a store and a church. The majority of Brisnik residents works abroad as is, after all, the case with the whole town of Duvno. The town has some 31,000 inhabitants of whom only 2,600 or 7 percent are working in social sector. It is estimated that about 6,000 people from Duvno work and live abroad, but at the SIJZ for employment there is work waiting for 1,500 unemployed.

Immediately after the enemy provocation of the youth group in Donji Brisnik, the committee for ONO and DSZ of the local Brisnik community met and condemned sharply said disorder. A broader meeting of social-political organizations and the local community board was also held with some 100 citizens and youth present. That meeting also condemned the singing of enemy songs. The basic organization of the League of Communist in Brisnik, which counts only 12 members and for several years did not add any members, also met.

"This is the main reason that make it possible for such cases to occur, because the idleness of the youth organization and the League of Communist Youth Organization [OOSK] leaves room for enemy forces," we were told by the secretary of the OK SKH Duvno presidium, Stjepan Stipic. "All socialist forces," he said, "should act more aggressively because, up to now, we have not been sufficiently organized, so that the work of social-political organizations was reduced mostly to parade celebrations. Just now, a joint meeting is also being prepared for the town committee of the SKH and the Association of Socialist Youth at which a joint plan of action will be presented."

At the end, let us add also this: it appears impossible that such songs and lyrics of dark fascist and nationalistic content which recall a dark period of the most atrocious horror can be sung and uttered by 19-year old youths, children born and educated in our own socialist era. No matter how this is viewed, the conclusion is the same: education failed equally in the family, in school, and within the framework of youth and other social organizations.

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## SLOVENIAN INTELLECTUALS SCORE TRIALS, BANNING OF BOOKS, IDEAS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 16 Oct 84 p 42

[Excerpts] How is it in our country with the free production of ideas? Is it possible for these ideas to be tested in society? In this regard are there different conditions in certain parts of the country? What are the basic legal regulations which have brought some intellectuals before the courts?

These are some of the central questions and positions on which discussions focused at the public forum held on Thursday at the Philosophy Faculty in Ljubljana organized by the Slovenian philosophical and sociological societies to which ... about 300 were invited, from students to well-known lecturers...i.e., specialists in the fields of law, sociology, and philosophy.

Darko Strajn, president of the Slovenian Philosophical Society, opened the meeting with the comment "how is one to speak about questions which have not been able to be openly discussed in public, questions such as the public trial of Vojislav Seselj in Sarajevo and the legal process announced in Belgrade against the six intellectuals suspected of enemy action against the state, as well as the banning of some books (that of Z. Pavlovic). Strajn's comment touched on another point: the fact that the Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES a day before the forum had attacked the calling of this meeting and had persisted in this [attack] even after Strajn had explained to the editors by phone who had called the meeting and why. Strajn said that we are witnesses of occurrences (trials, book bannings) which are symptoms of some kind of widespread crucial happenings in this country in which it is a question of whether we want to permit the "free creation of ideas" or whether we will only be witnesses to alternating waves of "liberalism" and "dogmatism." Ivan Svetlik, president of the Slovenian Sociological Society, proceeded from the hypothesis that intellectual work is an individual matter which society can support or stop, although it can only gain if it succeeds in developing it [intellectual work]; in so doing it must take into consideration that it is "extremely fragile" and that, in fact, a small number of ideas actually "materialize," "we would say that only a small part of them mean something." In fact Svetlik indicated that one should be concerned that as many ideas as possible are produced and that those who are forming or producing ideas should be permitted the "right to mistakes." In his view a number of intellectual challenges have recently appeared in our country but at the same time obstacles have also appeared which are blocking these challenges. Svetlik pointed to the example of Hungary where representatives of the government invite [back] their intellectuals from abroad, including those who were considered dissidents for years. They are returning and assuming high positions (e.g., at the university).

Andrej Ule (philosopher) spoke about the present social ferment in our country and said that Yugoslavia is a country which has created a large number of intellectuals but it is a question how much intellectual work they are doing.

One of the discussants asked who is to give an authoritative decision as to whether some idea is socially damaging or not. For example, the case of Vojislav Seselj, whose ideas received a response and became accessible to the public only after he had been brought to trial. Ideas thus endure in some special mythological form as soon as we ban them--and someone later mentioned that Seselj's plan was far less dangerous before the trial than after it, when it became widely known. The lawyer Katja Vodopivec mentioned that Seselj and the manner in which he was tried is not the only example in which there was no legal evidence for a judgment; "dark" examples of this she believed were also trials in Kosovo and the trial against the Moslem fundamentalists in Sarajevo--but in both cases lawyers do not have enough facts to give a more concrete opinion.

The attorney Matevz Krivic believed the situation in Slovenia only appears to differ from that in other parts of Yugoslavia, that a calm is perceived just now but that the government had confiscated the student paper TRIBUNA twice last year. He also warned against the untenable practice of prejudicing verdicts and placing political pressure on courts--which in his view should raise the question of political responsibility of those functionaries who are doing this. There should be no talk at meetings of the innocence or guilt of the Belgrade six because such discussions could also be characterized as pressure on the court.

Dr Rastko Mocnik (philosopher) said in our country the school reform will, in his opinion, have a very decisive [adverse] effect on intellectual work, also a barrier to intellectual creativity are the country borders; this barrier has now been enforced by the [compulsory exit] deposit.

Alenka Puhar (journalist) spoke about petitions and the "criminalizing" of them; she said that mankind has developed certain rules of behavior and legal norms which all civilized countries respect as a legal tradition, but in our country petitions which belong to this tradition are considered material for indictment.

Quite a few critical comments were made against our penal code, especially those articles concerned with verbal crimes and enemy action. In the united judgment of the speakers these articles should be changed. It was decided, in conclusion, that both societies will make appropriate moves in this regard to the council of the SAWP Conference of Slovenia.

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END